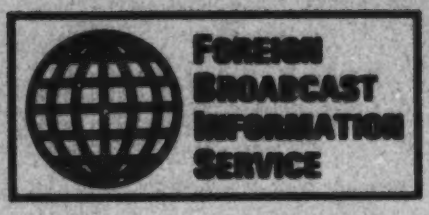

Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-176
Tuesday
12 September 1995

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-176 *12 September 1995*

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'Shuttle Diplomacy' Mission Launched in Geneva

LD1109122895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1204 GMT 11 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Sept 11 (TANJUG)—Sources at Geneva's Palais des Nations said Monday that a 'shuttle diplomacy' mission was launched in a feverish attempt to direct the newly-restored Bosnia peace process toward a final phase.

According to information from well-informed sources at the Palais des Nations, which have not yet been officially confirmed, U.S. chief negotiator Richard Holbrooke and E.U. envoy to the former Yugoslavia Carl Bildt are getting ready to revisit Zagreb and Belgrade early this week.

The sources said the latest mission was aimed at speeding up the peace process both in Bosnia and in the entire territory of the former Yugoslavia.

The shuttle diplomacy mission is designed to give a special role to the five-nation 'Contact Group' which is to meet at the Russian mission in Geneva as early as on Thursday or Friday to continue its activity following a scenario adopted at a meeting between the foreign ministers of Yugoslavia, Croatia and the Bosnian Muslim Sarajevo government in Geneva on Friday.

The meeting at the Russian misssion is to be followed by another Contact Group meeting in Moscow next week, which will include also representatives of Italy, Spain and Canada.

Another meeting, comprising Contact Group members and representatives of Italy, Spain and Canada, would subsequently be held in Rome.

Only after the Contact Group, Holbrooke and Bildt, now undoubtedly the chief protagonists of the process of settling the Bosnian conflict, have finished their meetings, will further decisions be made.

Well-informed sources at the Palais des Nations said that a new conference on the former Yugoslavia might be convened and that the idea of a summit of Contact Group member-countries, Yugoslavia, Croatia and the Bosnian Muslim Sarajevo government was also being considered.

The Geneva ministerial meeting was the main topic of many discussions on Monday. There are different interpretations of the outcome of this meeting already termed as historic.

The most frequently mentioned conclusion is that Republika Srpska, the Bosnian Serb state, has actually won international recognition and that the Bosnian Serbs have for the first time been treated equally as the Bosnian Muslims and Croats.

FRY Wants Conference on Expelled Krajina Serbs

LD1209062295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2248 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Sept. 11 (TANJUG)—A Yugoslav delegation for humanitarian questions Monday [11 September] arrived in Geneva with the aim of internationalizing the problem of exodus of more than 160,000 expelled Serbs from Krajina.

We propose the holding of an international conference solely devoted to the problems related to expelled Serbs from Krajina, said the head of the Yugoslav delegation, federal government minister and coordinator for humanitarian questions, Tomica Raicevic.

In a statement to TANJUG, Raicevic stated the hope that this conference would be held by the end of this month in Geneva.

He pointed out that Yugoslavia, which was under sanctions, could not resolve the problem of the large number of refugees.

Two-three years ago, about 500,000 refugees arrived to Yugoslavia (from the former Yugoslav republics Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina), and the problem of refugees became even more severe at this time when a wave of over 160,000 expelled Serbs from Krajina arrived, said Raicevic.

'We are grateful for the international relief aid sent so far, but it is insufficient and we believe it must become more pronounced,' said Raicevic.

In the next two days, the Yugoslav delegation was expected to meet with top officials of international humanitarian organizations. As early as Tuesday, the delegation would hold talks at the International Red Cross Committee, followed by UNHCR [UN High Commission for Refugees], UNICEF, the WHO and the High Commissioner's Office for Human Rights.

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CEFTA Session Ends, Documents Signed

LD1109180395 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The prime ministers of the four member CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Association] countries agreed in Brno on the further liberalization of mutual trade and expanding CEFTA. Jitka Kucerova and Miroslav Konvalina report from the scene:

[Konvalina] The all-day session of the CEFTA prime ministers—from the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and Poland—and representatives from Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Lithuania, which are not CEFTA members, finished a few moments ago with the signing of the final documents.

All parties call for speedily removing obstacles in mutual trade, such as customs duty and other trade barriers. They also signed an additional protocol that, from next January, abolishes the payment of customs for items of medium sensitivity.

The prime ministers praised the CEFTA cooperation so far. [passage omitted]

Dlouhy Opposes CEFTA Secretariat in Bratislava

LD1109203895 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The CEFTA prime ministers who met in Brno for one day today took part today in the ceremonial opening of the engineering fair in Brno.

Vladimir Dlouhy, the Czech minister of industry and trade, said this about the CEFTA summit:

[Begin Dlouhy recording] The priorities of the delegations varied. For example, the Hungarian prime minister has not mentioned agriculture explicitly, but it was mentioned by the Polish, Slovak, and Czech prime ministers. They all spoke about services and the movement of capital. Some of the prime ministers spoke about institutional matters, such as setting up a secretariat. Others think CEFTA should concentrate more on creating suitable trade conditions. [end recording]

Czech Minister Dlouhy rejected the Slovak proposal to set up a CEFTA secretariat in Bratislava.

It is highly likely that the Czech and Slovak prime ministers will meet tonight. [passage omitted]

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Prime Minister Upbeat After Meeting Meciar

LD1109221095 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2100 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The meeting of CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Association] prime ministers ended in Brno by adopting a joint statement on the addendum on liberalization of further items of goods. [passage omitted]

After the summit ended, the Czech and Slovak prime ministers met in the International Hotel. Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus assessed the talks with his counterpart, Vladimir Meciar, for Czech radio:

[Begin Klaus recording] The intention was to find a certain thread broken over a year ago, to find the thread, to remove some misunderstandings that occurred between our two countries because this is the only way. Naturally, if somebody expected that this meeting might reverse a number of decisions of a unilateral type that arose in the past few months, he will have to be disappointed. But something like that could not have been an aim and it occurred to nobody that this should be so.

I have a feeling that it has been possible to reconnect the broken thread, to find contact. I believe that the contact will be maintained in the coming few months. I do not only mean contacts at the level of prime ministers. Naturally, it is necessary to establish contacts on the level of the individual departmental ministers, whether it is in the question of the customs union or payments and financial agreements, and so on. [end recording]

Ministry To Destroy Surplus Weaponry by 13 Nov

LD1109204895 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] As part of cutting back on surplus combat technology, the Czech defense minister is to order the destruction of 20 additional T-55 tanks and 43 armed combat vehicles. Oldrich Holecek, from the Defense Ministry press service, said that they are to be destroyed between 19 October and 7 November.

A Norwegian inspection group will come to the Czech Republic on Wednesday, 13 September, and will observe the destruction of 45 artillery systems near Terezin. In addition, 47 artillery systems are to be liquidated by 17 October in the (?Libava) military training area.

The Czech military technology is to be reduced to the agreed level by 13 November 1995.

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Reportage on Kovac Kidnapping Case

Investigator Views Kidnapping

AU1109171695 Bratislava SME in Slovak 7 Sep 95 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Major Jaroslav Simunic, chief investigator of the kidnapping of Michal Kovac Jr., by Juraj Mravec on 6 September; place not given: "The Perpetrators of the Kidnapping of the President's Son Will Be Caught"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Major Jaroslav Simunic, head of a team of investigators of the Bratislava Police Corps, yesterday granted an interview to the daily SME about the results heretofore of investigations into the kidnapping of Michal Kovac Jr. At the outset of our meeting, he revealed that, since he started working on the case of Michal Kovac Jr., he has been carrying a firearm.

[Mravec] On Tuesday's "Press Club" [regular television panel discussion with members of the government], Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar did not directly rule out that Michal Kovac Jr. had been abducted to Austria, but, in the same breath, he cast strong doubts on this. You have appealed to the kidnappers to confess voluntarily to take advantage of mitigating circumstances. How should the public understand this contradiction between your and the prime minister's words?

[Simunic] This difference is caused by the fact that the prime minister is the prime minister while I am an investigator or, more precisely, head of the investigating team. I have been a police investigator for a long time, while the prime minister used to be a company lawyer. That explains everything.

[Mravec] Is it possible to speak about kidnapping in this case, based on the investigation's results thus far?

[Simunic] The crime of abduction abroad has been committed. It started with the limitation of personal freedom or, plainly speaking, with the assault of Michal Kovac Jr. There are no other versions. [passage omitted] I stumble upon evidence. I would catch the perpetrators even if I did not want to. The evidence is just falling in front of me.

[Mravec] Could you name any specific evidence?

[Simunic] We have now found ourselves on thin ice in this interview. I am not going to release any information that could thwart the investigation. I will not do so for professional reasons and, in part, out of fear of being accused of having thwarted the investigation by imparting information.

[Mravec] In searching for the motives of Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction abroad, the media have been working with the terms "act of banditry" and "political background." To which version does the evidence point?

[Simunic] Such an affair always has a political background. It is impossible, anywhere in the world, to kidnap the president's son and abduct him abroad without there being a political background. And who is served by it? That is a question for journalists. I perceive it as a criminal act and do not see any problems with proving this. [passage omitted]

[Mravec] How long will the investigation last, in your opinion?

[Simunic] That is difficult to estimate. [passage omitted] I think that, under a good constellation of the stars, because even an investigator needs luck, charges against specific persons could be brought by the end of this week. [passage omitted] It is possible, however, that the case will take years to be clarified. Nevertheless, I am certain that the perpetrators will be caught sooner or later.

[Mravec] Are you cooperating with the Slovak Information Service [SIS] in investigating the case?

[Simunic] I have learned about this cooperation from newspapers, but it is not true.

[Mravec] On the "Press Club," the prime minister claimed fairly convincingly that the telephone call announcing to the Hainburg police the presence of Michal Kovac Jr.'s Mercedes in front of their building did not come from Slovakia but directly from Hainburg. Do you know about this?

[Simunic] The prime minister has a rare ability to obtain information where others cannot obtain it. You know, I do not want to get into a legal dispute with the prime minister. That would be the last thing. I am short of money and I like my job. [passage omitted] I do not know about the prime minister's information.

[Mravec] Is it possible, then, that there is information of which you are not aware because no one told you about it?

[Simunic] Even you have gleaned from the "Press Club" that such information exists. Two days ago, on the main television news, I heard information based on unspecified Interior Ministry sources regarding the level of alcohol in the blood of Michal Kovac Jr. I do not have this information to this day. [passage omitted]

[Mravec] Have any more witnesses reported to you? The prime minister spoke about only one witness.

[Simunic] I keep getting from you highly unpleasant questions that ought to be addressed to the prime

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minister. If I were to violate basic regulations, I would show to you that there are more testimonies by witnesses than one, and that they are different from what the prime minister suggested. But it is possible that the prime minister has been poorly informed. It was not I who informed him. And who would bear the consequences? I only regret that the prime minister is able to provide erroneous information, for which he is not to blame, and that the press is not in the position to refute those errors. [passage omitted]

[Mravec] The public will learn the true story one day. Do you think someone will have to resign when the truth is out?

[Simunic] I already have four specific names in my file. When seeing those names, I feel a certain internal unrest. I am sure that I am on the right track and that it is enough to continue along this path. It is hard to say who will resign after the truth is revealed because it might turn out that the whole kidnapping was arranged by a patient who escaped from Pezinok [psychiatric hospital]. The penal code does not permit the prosecution of anyone who cannot bear responsibility for his deeds. That would be it!

[Mravec] Those four people.... Have they contacted you?

[Simunic] Unfortunately, I have found them.

[Mravec] Did it surprise them?

[Simunic] I have not spoken with these people. Naturally, I do not have evidence, but I have passed information on them to people who will not misuse this information. That is, to the police and to judicial bodies. Let me say once again that what we know is not enough, at this stage, to bring charges against these people.

[Mravec] Are they known names?

[Simunic] They are Slovak citizens. [passage omitted]

Clarification of SIS Role Sought

AU1109171895 Bratislava SME in Slovak 8 Sep 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by Juraj Mravec: "Investigator in the Case of Michal Kovac Jr. Asks for Interrogation of Slovak Information Service Staffers"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] "In the course of the investigation of the criminal act of Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction abroad, it has been ascertained that persons and vehicles that supposedly had some links to the Slovak Information Service [SIS] were present at and near the scene of the crime—that is, between Svaty Jur and Hainburg." The above formulation is contained in a letter that Major Jaroslav Simunic, LD, investigator of the case, addressed to SIS Director Ivan Lexa yesterday. Maj. Simunic paraphrased the contents of the letter at an improvised news conference for more than 20 correspondents yesterday. As he went on to say, he appealed to Ivan Lexa because a negative atmosphere directed against the SIS is beginning to take shape in society. "Personally, I do not have any evidence that the SIS did it, or took part in it. I assume that [SIS] documents or vehicles may have been misused or that some individual SIS staffer may have been there during his annual leave, during his time off.... Simply, I believe that the SIS as a state body has nothing to do with it, but that someone, possibly another intelligence service, may have acted in its name. I do not want to do them an injustice. People from the KGB may have come here with SIS papers and may have done it. This is why I have turned to the SIS director with the request that he relieve all SIS members whose interrogation I will consider necessary of their vow of silence. This may apply also to other people who worked for the SIS. The range of people affected has not yet been determined," Maj. Simunic said.

Maj. Simunic addressed a letter with similar contents to Ivan Gasparovic, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic. [passage omitted]

Kovac Jr.'s Lawyer Comments

AU1109133695 Bratislava SME in Slovak 7 Sep 95 pp 1, 4

[Article by "(sp)": "Michal Kovac Jr. Has Suspicions About His Possible Kidnappers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"I am Engineer Michal Kovac Jr.'s attorney. I have been representing him legally since March of this year, when the first reports appeared in the daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA, which, over a period of time, published an international arrest warrant and other documents associated with my client," said Dr. Jan Havlat. He added that he met with his client on Monday, 4 September 1995. "He is in a rather poor psychological state, which is not unusual in this situation. Signs of physical contact are visible on him. He has a bruise on one eye. His groin and genitalia were injured by an electric paralyzer." According to J. Havlat, the Austrian police authorities should have an expert finding on his client's state of health at their disposal in a few days. J. Havlat emphasized that M. Kovac Jr. was also prepared to testify before investigative bodies in Germany. This became impossible because an arrest warrant was issued against him. That is, he would have been arrested immediately on the territory of a third state on the basis of the international arrest warrant, which would again simply have

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prolonged the whole process of clearing his name. From the point of view of his experience, however, J. Havlat was most taken aback by the fact that confidential legal documents—faxes—were found in M. Kovac's car. These involved correspondence between M. Kovac's attorneys in Slovakia and Germany and also between the German prosecutor and M. Kovac Jr.'s German legal representative.

The prospective date for the Slovak president's son to be interviewed at the German Consulate in Bratislava is contained in the documents. "We have ascertained that these faxes were misappropriated from the piles of documents my client had at home. Why did someone do this? Obviously, to make sure that the situation is clear to the Austrian police." J. Havlat, along with his German colleague, has been trying to arrange a hearing in Slovakia for his client almost since March of this year. The German side, however, made a hearing conditional upon the agreement of the suspect, which M. Kovac Jr. also accepted. This possibility was confirmed by the Slovak Justice Ministry in its expert opinion on fulfilling the Vienna Agreement on consular ties. It says that, in the Justice Ministry's point of view, "no stipulation in the Slovak legal code prevents the representative body of a foreign state from taking evidence at a hearing on Slovak territory if the participants come to the hearing voluntarily." As J. Havlat said, however, the investigating prosecutor from Germany sought the agreement of our Prosecutor General's Office, which the Slovak side did not give for reasons associated with an encroachment on "Slovak integrity." In connection with the unconfirmed break-in at M. Kovac Jr.'s home, when the incriminating faxes were supposed to have been stolen, his attorney stated that M. Kovac Jr.'s wife is to submit a complaint against an u..known culprit. According to J. Havlat, it is presumed that, apart from the legal correspondence, other things have also disappeared that could conceivably identify those suspected of the kidnapping. In this context, M. Kovac Jr. suspects who the culprits are, a suspicion he has conveyed to the Austrian police authorities. The Slovak police should also have this information at its disposal. J. Havlat refused to be more specific about the possible culprits, however, in order not to impair the further course of the investigation. In reply to a question concerning the nationality of the kidnappers, M. Kovac Jr. told his attorney that the kidnappers communicated with him in Slovak. It is not even out of the question that private detective agencies will also become involved in the search for the culprits. J. Havlat refused to reply to a question on whether the kidnapping has a political background. "It was not a mafia operation," he added. "The kidnapping was planned precisely for the last possible day it could have taken place. On this very day, a representative from the German Embassy brought an official request from the Bavarian Prosecutor's Office to the Slovak Prosecutor General's Office. So, M. Kovac Jr.'s attempt to testify was thwarted." In connection with the affair's possible development, J. Havlat said: "Because the Slovak Republic will probably not make an official request for M. Kovac Jr.'s return, the optimum thing would be if he were questioned by the German investigative bodies in Austria. I view the whole affair on a professional level. I want to ensure that my client can testify officially before an official body." M. Kovac's attorney, among other things, expressed his surprise at the publication in the daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA of extensive documentation from Germany, despite the fact that it still had not been addressed officially to the Slovak authorities.

Hint of 'Surprise' for Meciar

AU1109152195 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by "(ad)" and "(ns)": "Nocturnal Travels by Prominent Citizens?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—In the Michal Kovac Jr. kidnapping affair, a report has cropped up several times that, on the night of 31 August-1 September, apart from the car containing President Michal Kovac, another car containing the Slovak prime minister passed through the diplomatic zone of the [Slovak-Austrian] border crossing half an hour later. The deputy chairman of parliament was also supposed to have been at the border crossing between 0430 and 0530. "It is highly probable that new facts that will surprise the public, and surprise V. Meciar very unpleasantly, will come to light soon," said Christian Democratic Movement Chairman Jan Carnogursky yesterday. He was responding to a statement by the prime minister, who denied on the "Press Club" program, that he had been at the border crossing a few hours after the kidnapping of the president's son. J. Carnogursky revealed neither the source nor the date of publication of this information.

Claim of ZNB Involvement

AU1109170495 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Sep 95 p 1

[Article by "(PA)": "The Kidnapping Was Apparently Supervised by a Former Police Officer"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—According to NOVA TV's Televizne noviny [Television News], a private security agency was also involved in the kidnapping of Michal Kovac Jr. A source close to the passport service has confirmed to the program that M. Kovac Jr. was transported to Austria through the

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diplomatic corridor. His transfer was arranged by a former ZNB [National Security Corps] officer, Milan Lovik. According to NOVA TV, on 31 August, he was in the customs zone with a radiotelephone and told some passport control officers that he works in the Slovak Information Service. Following the secret transfer of the president's son, M. Lovik crossed to the Austrian side in a red Mercedes that once belonged to the FBIS [Federal Security and Information Service]. According to NOVA TV, a record of this is to be found in the log book of 31 August on pages 210 and 211. NOVA attempted to verify the reliability of the information by questioning the customs deputy commander. He refused to provide any information.

Investigator Taken Off Case

AU1109172095 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Sep 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Juraj Handzo: "New Investigator Took Up the Case; Major Jaroslav Simunic Handed Over the File and Asked To Have His Contract of Employment Terminated"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"The criminal act of abduction abroad, according to Article 233, Sections 1 and 2, letter 'a' of the Penal Code, committed by an organized group of perpetrators against Engineer Michal Kovac Jr., has acquired a political touch, also thanks to the press and some representatives of political parties," Colonel Jozef Holdos, president of the Police Corps of the Slovak Republic, told a news conference yesterday.

As he added, he is strongly perturbed by allegations of police involvement in this criminal act. The working team set up by the minister of interior after the deed has obtained some information that is currently being verified. Vladimir Lamacka, director of the Slovak Republic Police Corps' Section of Investigations and Criminal Expert Analyses, then announced that he had recalled investigator Major Jaroslav Simunic from the investigating team yesterday. The reason, according to Vladimir Lamacka, was Maj. Jaroslav Simunic's statements about his lack of confidence in members of the team. Yesterday, Maj. Simunic refused to perform tasks assigned to him (he was supposed to draw up a plan of investigations—editor's note), and the director of the Bratislava Police Corps' Regional Office of Investigations therefore withdrew the documents relating to the case from him and assigned them to another investigator, who became a member of the investigating team. Shortly thereafter, Maj. Simunic asked to be relieved of duty as of 30 September 1995.

Anton Manak, LD, first vice president of the Slovak Republic Police Corps, stated that the Slovak Information Service [SIS] has from the beginning been cooperating with the investigating team in clarifying the case (the opposite transpired from Maj. Simunic's statements—editor's note). In conjunction with the report on TV NOVA [Czech private television] that Michal Kovac Jr.'s transfer across the border had been supervised by Milan Lovich, a former ZNB [National Security Corps—communist-era police] member, Vladimir Lamacka said that "the file contains the questioning of a person who cited certain facts, which need to be verified."

He avoided a reply to PRAVDA's question regarding the contents of pages 210 and 211 of the logbook of the Petrzalka customs office, which supposedly contain an entry proving Milan Lovich's presence at the border crossing during the critical night. The information about the license plates and marques of vehicles that supposedly took part in the kidnapping (they were published by the daily NARODNA OBRODA yesterday) also needs to be verified, according to Lamacka. Regarding Maj. Simunic's statement that he knows the names of four suspects, Vladimir Lamacka stated: "I, too, would be very anxious to find out the names of those four people." He added that the investigating team did not avail itself of any findings that would lead to the bringing of charges against specific persons. Vladimir Lamacka criticized the fact that Maj. Simunic had called a news conference on 7 September without consulting the other members of the team and described Maj. Simunic's request that SIS Director Ivan Lexa and his predecessor, Vladimir Mitro, be relieved of their vow of silence as "legally absolutely unfounded."

The Czech independent television station NOVA reported yesterday that the vehicles that supposedly took part in the abduction belong to a certain insurance company, which is co-owned by Jaroslav Svechota, director of the counterintelligence service, who is also a member of the investigating team.

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 9 September on pages 1 and 4 carries a 1,200-word interview with Maj. Jaroslav Simunic, former investigator of the kidnapping of Michal Kovac Jr., by Juraj Mravec and Peter Toth entitled "In October, He Wants To Continue Investigating on His Own." In the interview, the major voices his conviction that, had he not been dismissed from the investigating team, he would have uncovered and detained the "perpetrators." Simunic says that he is determined to continue investigating the kidnapping of the president's son as a "civilian" and announces that he is about to form "a certain team of policemen who are willing to help me after hours in a way that will not amount to a breach of discipline."]

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KDH Suspects Records Rewritten

AU1109170695 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by "ms": "The Christian Democratic Movement Investigates and Informs; Where Is the Original Logbook From the Border Crossing?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—As Jan Carnogursky and Ivan Simko announced yesterday, the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] Club of Deputies in the National Council of the Slovak Republic has decided to collect information on the abduction of Michal Kovac Jr. to Austria. At the same time, they published the first results of their investigation, which they carried out the day before yesterday and yesterday. The investigation concerned the logbook at the Bratislava-Petrzalka border crossing.

On the night of 7 September, NOVA TV [Czech private television channel] carried an unconfirmed report that pages 210 and 211 of the logbook from 31 August 1995 contain an entry about the movement of Milan Lovich, a former ZNB [National Security Corps] member, in the customs zone. Lovich, who was carrying a radiotelephone, supposedly claimed that he was working for the Slovak Information Service and supervised the transfer of the kidnapped Michal Kovac Jr. to Austria.

According to yesterday's statement by Vladimir Lamacka, director of the Slovak Interior Ministry's Section of Investigations and Criminal Expert Analyses, the contents of the logbook are an official secret.

Jan Carnogursky announced that he personally visited the customs office on Thursday and asked the deputy chief of the border crossing to let him inspect the logbook. He discovered that it was started on and kept since 30 August 1995 and that it contains a stamp, according to which the level of secrecy is zero. According to Jan Carnogursky, all entries until Thursday, 7 September, had been made with the same pen and in one handwriting. "I asked to be shown the preceding logbook—that is, for the period before 30 August," Jan Carnogursky said. Lieutenant Colonel Pokorny, deputy chief of the Aliens Police Administration, told me, however, that the logbook had been filed in his office on Racianska Street. We agreed that I would call on him the next day at 1400 and that he would show me the logbook. During my visit the next day, he said that he no longer had the logbook because it had been incorporated into the documents of the case of Michal Kovac Jr. I found it startling that they included in that file the logbook that is supposed to end on 29 August and not the one that contains the days of the kidnapping, 31 August and 1 September. As a member of the parliamentary committee for defense and security affairs, I and my colleague Doctor Simko "asked the new investigating team to be given the chance to acquaint ourselves with the filed log book. We received the official reply that this logbook had not been entered in the documents of the case."

According to Jan Carnogursky, this gives rise to the justified suspicion that the logbook of the Bratislava-Petrzalka border crossing has been rewritten for the period starting on 30 August 1995.

Schenk: Extradition 'Open' Issue

AU1109152995 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Sep 95 p 1

[Report by "ns": "They Will Choose the Most Suitable Course of Action"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Minister of Foreign Affairs Juraj Schenk did not rule out certain steps on the part of Slovak diplomacy in connection with the abduction of the president's son to Austria. He added that "the steps that will be taken depend on the evolution of the investigation of the events." In an interview with PRAVDA, Juraj Schenk confirmed that the question of a diplomatic note requesting that Michal Kovac Jr. be extradited to Slovakia remains open. "We will choose the most suitable and effective course of action, depending on what the investigation shows. Our standpoint on this affair has been formulated on the basis of what we know at a given moment. We are choosing steps that are adequate," the chief of Slovak diplomacy said in conclusion.

Meciar on CEFTA Expansion, Talks With Klaus

LD1109150195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Before his departure for Brno, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar was interviewed by our correspondent Zuzana Stukovska. The prime minister summarized his expectations for today's Central European Free Trade Association [CEFTA] talks as follows:

[Begin recording] [Meciar] The Brno meeting is very important because the Slovak Republic and its government are implementing the principled strategy aimed at the expansion of the free trade zone in Central Europe so that the four current member countries are later joined by the Baltic countries of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia; so that Slovenia, Bulgaria, and Romania are admitted as soon as possiblep; and so that, after the war in the Balkans is over, the position of Croatia, Yugoslavia, FYROM, and Albania are tackled. Ukraine should become an observer, and the options will remain open for Moldova.

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Once such a free trade zone is set up, we will have enormous possibilities for placing our products. Untapped vistas for further development will thus open to economies such as the Slovak economy, which is based on foreign trade. Brno should become a signal reaching far beyond the European 4 [Slovakia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland], and we will start thinking in dimensions relevant to a Central European market zone. If this succeeds, it will be our diplomatic success. [passage omitted]

Our bilateral talks with the Czech Republic will be enriched by the fact that there are some problems. [Words indistinct] I had suggested to Prime Minister Klaus that we should meet, but he did not reply to this for several months. This is not the done thing. We proposed [word indistinct] contacts, but the Czech side kept silent. The developments started to take a self-moving course in such a way that we are not able to control them very well at present. [passage omitted]

The Czech Republic makes no secret of its ambition to become the first country integrated [into the European Union], even if it were to do it on its own. Of course, this brings about new moments in its position toward us, and we have to reckon that there can be changes within the customs union. [passage omitted]

The meeting with Prime Minister Klaus will take place, but I do not expect any sensational conclusions to be drawn from it.

[Stukovska] There is not much time before the expiration of the payment agreement with the Czech Government: What does the Slovak Government intend to do about its consequences? For example, I am thinking of how it will affect the payment of bills between citizens of the two states.

[Meciar] The agreement about the amendment of Czech and Slovak payment relations after the expiration of the payment agreement is being prepared by experts. If no other solution is found, there is a safety valve: From 1 October, the Slovak koruna will be convertible. If we reach no agreement on the exchange rate, the Slovak side will have the option of offering payments in Slovak korunas to the Czechs. Other options might also be open, but we must remember that, by the time the currency exchange and other costs are paid for, recipients might receive only a small part of the sum that was originally sent from the other country because the rest would be swallowed by fees for financial services. This will have to be discussed.

[Stukovska] It is quite a surprise that the Slovak koruna will become convertible, like the Czech koruna. This was originally planned only from 1 January 1995. Are we so well off that we can afford it?

[Meciar] We are already late. When Mr. [Sergej] Kozlik [deputy Slovak prime minister] and the governor of the Slovak National Bank visited the International Monetary Fund, they were quietly instructed by the government to say that convertibility would start on 1 July. Because the completion of some legal steps took longer than envisaged, we are able to start it only on 1 October. We are asking parliament to put the law that the government approved on 5 September preferentially on the agenda of this session. The guidelines have already been discussed, and some committee chairmen have been acquainted with them. Therefore, it is quite likely that it will be approved by parliament, and by 1 October we could have the Slovak koruna for current account use as a convertible currency.

This means that it would be possible to use it everywhere—but only where it is recognized. It is not enough for us to declare it convertible. We are only going to declare that we will pay the relevant amount to everyone abroad who accepts the Slovak koruna if it is returned to our bank, and therefore everybody can use it as a currency.

This is a very important step because it is a significant attempt to affect Central Europe in a wider sense and to penetrate other markets with our koruna as a currency.

I think that the way our economy is developing makes it possible for us to take this step. In September we will be able to improve the situation even more. According to an economic prognosis, in September our inflation level is to fall below 10 percent. If this happens, I will be able to ask the governor of the National Bank to ask the council of the bank whether it is possible to cut the interest rate by another percent. Therefore, we will cross our fingers that it all comes off.

[Stukovska] Have you any ideas what countries will be willing to accept the Slovak koruna as a convertible currency after 1 October?

[Meciar] So far we have a promise from Ukraine. We have notified all other countries and asked for their assessment. We have no definite answers or views yet, but we think that, once the law is endorsed, diplomatic activity between banks will begin and we will start to discuss the acceptability of our currency with other national banks.

We are sending the relevant papers to the IMF so it can acquaint itself with the state of our economy [words indistinct].

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[Stukovska] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus intends to discuss with you in Brno the new customs tariffs for the imports of new cars to Slovakia. He considers the decision to introduce them as a bad signal and an unfortunate step. In spite of that, he continues to believe that the customs union is beneficial to both the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Prime Minister, do you share his view?

[Meciar] This step does not go against the customs union. In the given situation, we were obliged to brief the council of the customs union about the planned step, and the Czech Republic had a chance to ask for the council to meet before the adoption of the Slovak Government's decree. However, the Czech Republic did not do so. I do not think the issue is really so hot because there is only verbal condemnation; no practical steps are taken by the Czech Republic.

Second, it is not a step going against the interests of the Czech Republic because the result of this step is that Czech cars, or cars produced in the Czech Republic under what is already a German trademark, will enjoy the same trading conditions as cars from other countries. So, international competition will take place right here. [passage omitted]

The exchange of goods with the Czech Republic was on the decline, but that has stopped this year and there is some revival. However, the exchange of goods is undergoing changes not only as a result of the customs union but also as a result of the changing economies. Slovakia needs to move away from the situation in which 35 percent of its exports go to the Czech Republic, to a situation in which Slovakia will not lose the Czech market but expand to markets everywhere else. To some extent, this has an impact on the structure of our economy, which, to a great extent, was complementary to that of the Czech Republic. Our economy has to stand on its own feet and has to be competitive.

[Stukovska] Does it mean that the customs union still makes some sense to us?

[Meciar] Yes, the customs union has its raison d'etre. But even if it did not exist, we could go on. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Meciar: Center of CEFTA Should Be Bratislava

LD1109215495 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 11 Sep 95

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Meciar by unidentified correspondent on 11 September in Brno—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Unidentified correspondent] The chairmen of the CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Association] member countries have signed a final political statement in Brno. Mr. Prime Minister, what does it contain?

[Meciar] Above all, the fundamental strategy of CEFTA is broadening and deepening cooperation. Broadening cooperation is aimed at our interest that Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, as well as Romania and Bulgaria, become CEFTA members, while Slovenia become a member by the end of this year. The other states should be accepted next year.

The second strategic aim is deepening cooperation. This means that some questions of customs regulations will be solved by 1 January 1996, such as the reduction of customs charges, particularly in the sphere of agriculture. This further deepening of cooperation means that we will seriously consider the services and capital market. The Polish side will guarantee the project of free movement of capital.

For us it is important that Slovakia will chair CEFTA in 1996, and Slovakia will have the role, on the basis of our proposal, that the future center of CEFTA is in Bratislava. This has not been agreed yet. However, we should prepare a draft organizational arrangement and the entire organization of CEFTA for the coming year.

So, I think that, from this point of view, the results are positive for everybody. The prime ministers of Slovenia, Romania, and Bulgaria have had a chance to express their views and interpret their interest in CEFTA, and a similar presentation was also made by the Lithuanian foreign minister.

People 'Hostages of the Customs Union'

AU1109170395 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Sep 95 p 1

[Report by TASR: "Hostages of the Customs Union"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Nalepkovo—Prime Minister Meciar said in an interview with reporters that nothing has been rendered null and void in relation to the Czech Republic. The Finance Ministry has fulfilled its obligation to inform the Customs Union Council of the measures it adopted. He pointed to a certain

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imbalance in the hitherto model of cooperation. "Our people have become, to a certain extent, hostages of the customs union. The fact that a market was guaranteed for the Skoda car plant led, in practice, to frequent price increases," said V. Meciar. He emphasized that the abolition of import surcharges on cars with a smaller engine volume and the abrogation of duties in Slovakia have created the prerequisites to ensure that development in the car pool sphere moves forward. "I do not think we have resolved the social function of the car by adopting this measure. The socially weaker strata will obviously still have to wait for a more simple type," said the prime minister.

HZDS Statement on Kovac State of Nation Address

AU1109170595 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 8 Sep 95 p 4

["Statement Issued by the HZDS Deputies' Club in the NR SR on 6 September 1995 on the Speech Made by President M. Kovac"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The members of the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] Deputies' Club are disappointed by the speech made by the president of the Slovak Republic in the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NR SR].

According to the agenda of the Ninth NR SR Session, the president was supposed to have delivered a "Report on the State of the Slovak Republic." This is not what happened. What the deputies heard was more a subjective vision emanating from the views of the president's advisers and his feelings than an assessment of the objective truth about the state of the Republic because it was not based on an analysis of the facts from the central state bodies. This is the normal course of action in democratic countries throughout the world. Moreover, the speech made by the president of the Slovak Republic did not concur with the text that the deputies were given [illegible] before his appearance.

In several parts of his speech, the president repeated that what Slovakia needs most is a nonconfrontational policy. Despite this, his speech was deliberately confrontational. The distance between his words and his deeds has thus again increased.

We were also deeply disappointed by the fact that he used his speech to publicize his personal problems.

We state with dissatisfaction that he mentioned only in passing the economic results that have been achieved, results that document our positive development and should be a source of inspiration. To further improve them, we need more than anything else a calm social atmosphere, unselfish creativity, and faith in our own strengths. The president's speech has not contributed to this.

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Ethnic Leaders Discuss Vojvodina Situation

LD1109181495 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 10 Sep 95

[Studio roundtable discussion held on 8 September with Andros Agoston, chairman of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians; Arpad Pasza, chairman of the Democratic Community of Hungarians in Croatia; Ferenc Csubela, chairman of the Association of Vojvodina Hungarians; and Csaba Tabajdi, political state secretary in the Prime Minister's Office; introduced by Zoltan Csaky; from the "Weekly Courier" program—recorded; an announcer notes that the sound quality was "faulty" due to a technical error during recording]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Csaky] I greet the viewers and our guests—Andras Agoston, chairman of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians [DZVM]; Arpad Pasza, chairman of the Democratic Community of Hungarians in Croatia [HMDK]; Ferenc Csubela, chairman of the Association of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMSZ]; and Csaba Tabajdi, political state secretary in the Prime Minister's Office.

We had intended for all of the important leaders of the Hungarians in the southern regions [former Yugoslavia] to take part in "Weekly Courier." We also invited Jozsef Csorgits, chairman of the Federation of Hungarians in Croatia, who, at the last minute, decided not to come because of official engagements at home. [passage omitted]

[Csaky] Let us now discuss the situation created by the wave of [Krajina Serb] refugees. [passage omitted]

[Csubela] At a session of our association's council several people said that we should not deal with the question of how many people had arrived in Vojvodina; the important question was the number of people who live as a Hungarian-majority block, and how to protect the Hungarians. Others felt that Hungarians live throughout Vojvodina—even if in areas where they are in a minority, and in such areas they are even more vulnerable.

I should like to point out something that we previously did not experience very much, but we fear greatly. Those people who came here were crushed and tormented, both physically and emotionally. A large number of them are also twisted and deformed. [indistinct interruption by another participant] They are people who were manipulated by the ideology, by the powers that set off the war and swept these unfortunate people into the war, and consequently, I find it difficult to imagine these people being able to accept coexistence or being able to coexist with others. It was constantly hammered into them throughout the war, over three or four years, that people who were not Serbs were enemies and could only be bad.

Interestingly, the majority of these people have not settled in Serb areas, in the central, eastern, southern, or western parts of Serbia, but in Vojvodina where there is a developed ethnic culture and we can speak of a high level of coexistence. This is a contradiction that I cannot accept. It is clear that these people were told they were going to Vojvodina, where there was arable land, where there were houses—houses vacated by the Hungarians and Croats—that they will occupy. That is a fact.

We must firmly and jointly demand of the Serbian authorities that this should not be a settlement process. It should not be expressed as being the settlement of refugees, but as a temporary stay in Vojvodina that lasts for a short time. The solution must be sought in Serbia. [passage omitted]

[Csaky] Is this also the opinion of the other organization representing the Vojvodina Hungarians? Mr. Agoston.

[Agoston] According to our information, refugees have moved into 126 houses—Hungarian houses. These are houses whose owners are either guest-workers in Germany or who came over to Hungary. We know of 40 houses for which the owner or the owner's family did not give special permission or assent. We believe that the problem is that those concerned have generally given their assent under political pressure.

As regards the situation, we believe, on the basis of estimates and information from our organization's activists, that some 28,000 refugees have settled in the seven Hungarian-majority settlements and in the other Hungarian-majority settlements throughout Vojvodina. If we add the 9,000 or 10,000 who remained after 1991, it amounts to approximately 37,000 or 38,000.

As it is known, the DZVM estimates that 35,000-40,000 ethnic Hungarians left this same area. I believe that there is an element of organization and intention behind this. It must be said here and now that we are unable, by means of political actions, to protect all of Vojvodina's territory. We must concentrate on protecting the Hungarian-majority villages and the Hungarian-majority settlements within villages of Serb majority. We also have ideas about how this could be done.

[Csaky] Let us now ask State Secretary Csaba Tabajdi what possibilities the Hungarian Government has of influencing the events in Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

[Tabajdi] I believe that the situation in Vojvodina is like a trap. A situation has emerged in which 160,000 people have fled Knin and other Krajina areas in Croatia. The essence of the trap for the Vojvodina Hungarians is that

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on the one hand, it is a humanitarian duty to accept the refugees. At the same time, on the basis of recent years, the concern of the DZVM, of the VMSZ, and of all of the Vojvodina Hungarians—that this settlement process in Vojvodina will be a lasting, and not a temporary phenomenon—is fully justified.

For the sake of the facts, I must add nonetheless, that 160,000 people left Croatia in early August; 100,000 of them fled to Vojvodina, and 30,000-40,000 of these went to Banat [Bansag] or Backa [Bacska]. This is of decisive importance for us, for the Hungarians, because two-thirds went to the Srem region [Szeremseg], where the number of Hungarians is rather small.

Of course this does not cast doubt on the just concerns expressed by Agoston Andras and Ferenc Csubela. [passage omitted]

The position of the Hungarian Government is that it understands Serbia's situation, which is temporarily difficult. Apart from the 160,000 refugees at present, it had to take in about 500,000 refugees over recent years. At the same time, we clearly told the Yugoslav Government that a cornerstone of Hungarian-Yugoslav relations, a basic condition of their normalization, is that the ethnic composition of Vojvodina should not change.

I believe that this was expressed quite clearly and unequivocally, and it is in complete harmony with the just demands of legitimate organizations in Vojvodina, with the concerns expressed by their representatives in Vojvodina over the past month.

[Csaky] Despite all of these steps—and now I am quoting your recent statement—the situation of Hungarians beyond the border has undoubtedly worsened. At the same time, Hungarians in Vojvodina have said that the Hungarian Government's statement was too late and not firm enough.

[Agoston] In our view, what has been done by the Hungarian Government and diplomacy was good and necessary. Particularly the latest statement by Mr. Tabajdi. However, we do not think that this is enough. As a result of historic events, a situation has evolved that the ethnic composition has already changed, despite the fact that not all refugees have been granted the house or apartment they currently occupy, and have not established their life there. Very few of them will leave. [passage omitted]

In our view, the real, good solution will be if, taking the opportunity provided by this serious situation, we could act jointly with the Hungarian Government and initiate a global settlement in Serbia, in a sense that the open and unresolved situation of the Hungarian community of Vojvodina should be settled here and now, within a few weeks or months. We can see that a very hard settlement process is under way in the region of the former Yugoslavia. I think there will be a chance for this.

A DZVM delegation will see two representatives of Serbian Prime Minister Marjanovic on Monday [11 September], and we will submit the same proposal to them.

[Csaky] Here is a proposal. I would like to hear the state secretary's response to this joint step. But do you include the VMSZ, as well, in this proposal?

[Agoston] Well, I include them, if they want autonomy, since we see the only solution in autonomy. Without that, the Hungarian community of Vojvodina will be dispersed. [passage omitted]

[Tabajdi] I think, for an effective step, it is an indispensable condition that the organizations of the Hungarian community in Vojvodina come to an agreement about basic, strategic questions, regarding the issue of autonomy, on the one hand, and regarding concrete steps, which fill this concept with content, on the other. We are ready for this kind of step.

Regarding the question raised by Andras Agoston, whether this is an historic moment or not, I think that there is no point in meditating about this. We have to take steps. This is why these significant diplomatic efforts, a part of which have not even been published by the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, have been made. [passage omitted]

In the course of talks with Slobodan Babic, Serbian deputy prime minister, we indicated that it was very important for the Hungarian Government how the ethnic composition of Vojvodina changes, and that we closely followed the situation of the Hungarian community in Vojvodina and the ethnic composition in the region. I also raised several specific matters that are necessary for a possible establishment of autonomy in Vojvodina. [passage omitted]

I also have to mention that, unfortunately, it is not the Vojvodina settlement that is in the forefront of the Yugoslav crisis, but the establishment of peace in Bosnia, the prevention of a military conflict in eastern Slavonia, the danger of which is well known by Arpad Pasza.

However, Hungarian diplomacy cannot abandon the idea that appropriate autonomy and guarantees are given to the Hungarian communities of Vojvodina and Croatia and, that specific conditions for this are prepared.

As a private individual, I think that the Vojvodina Hungarians will be very happy with the autonomy plan

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that been prepared by the Contact Group in connection with the settlement in Krajina. However, I think that serious, concrete talks should be held on this autonomy.

[Csaky] The VMSZ has been addressed.

[Csubela] Yes. [Passage omitted] Regarding the autonomy matter, the VMSZ has never said that it had not supported the idea of autonomy. It has supported this idea. We have to come to an understanding regarding this issue and jointly submit our proposal to the Serbian, the Yugoslav authorities. [passage omitted]

[Tabajdi] I would like to argue with Mr. Csubela, and in this respect I agree with Andras Agoston. Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs has already tried to clear this misunderstanding with Mr. Csubela, it seems unsuccessfully, that there was no delay by the Hungarian Government in anything. [passage omitted]

[Csaky] I think this program is unsuitable for giving details about autonomy plans. The representative of the Hungarian Community of Croatia also wants to contribute to the debate. Hungarians are in a difficult situation in the Baranja triangle, too.

[Pasza] An even more severe state of all what has been said here prevails in the Baranja triangle since 1991. The region has been sealed almost hermetically. Further refugees have been arriving from Knin and they are not selective about their methods. These methods have become almost a norm over the past years. We are talking about various forms of psychological and military terror. They move into vacant houses—there are very few of them by now. We have also learned that they move into houses of people who were left at home—they are mainly elderly people—and sometimes squeeze them out to a smaller room, or drive them out very quickly. The situation is astonishing there. A lot of people on the Hungarian side of the Hungarian border cannot imagine how Hungarian people live here. People in villages that were almost clearly Hungarian villages until 1990, live in slavery now. They have been regularly taken to the fronts to dig trenches and bunkers and to forced labor projects. They have been humiliated. They are not allowed to speak in Hungarian, even during breaks. Hungarians have been persecuted by selected methods. The situation is astonishing.

What we have asked from the Hungarian Government is to try to guarantee the personal freedom of this unfortunate community of 4,000-5,000 in some way, for it will be in vain to talk about minority rights here, and to try to put pressure on the Serbian Government to allow these people, or those who want, to freely leave this hermetically closed area.

[Csaky] What is the possibility of this?

[Tabajdi] [Passage omitted] We have been working on a crisis management program with the HMDK and the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Croatia—for I hope that the two organizations will cooperate in this dramatic situation. We will take steps, time is pressing. [passage omitted] We are working on it, but now I would not like to say anymore about the background of this. [passage omitted]

[Csaky] I should like the state secretary to tell us about the discussions he held with Deputy Prime Minister Babic this week.

[Tabajdi] [Words indistinct] The Hungarian Government supports autonomy, and I said that there should be discussions about autonomy for the Hungarians of Vojvodina. Naturally, if we consider the requirements of those who are sparsely settled, these differ from those of people who live in compact blocks. Therefore, we are unable, with one homogenous type of autonomy, to satisfy either those who are sparsely settled or those who live in compact blocks.

This is why I constantly say that only combined forms of autonomy can be seen as a solution for the minorities of the Carpathian basin, for the Hungarian communities beyond the border.

When mentioning such things I am aware that this is an ambitious program of which the Hungarians in Vojvodina can scarcely dream. At the same time, it can serve as a point of reference.

Naturally, I would be very pleased if the legitimate organizations of the Vojvodina Hungarians came to agreement with one another. The government in Budapest has ideas about which form of autonomy could constitute a solution for the Hungarians beyond the border.

As regards the issues, I not only told Mr. Babic about the principles, that the fate of the Vojvodina Hungarians will be decisive for the development of Hungarian-Yugoslav relations, but I also raised concrete issues—among other things that the issue of schools causes us concern. We asked them not to request statements from parents every year, but every three or five years, rather, because a statement every year constitutes a form of pressure.

I asked for the teachers' college to be moved back from Sombor [Zombor] to Subotica [Szabadka]. I asked for the concession on border fees to be retained unaltered for students on grants. I raised the issue of the Becskereki college—that the convent should be given back.

I said that a return to the 1977 Vojvodina language decree will be considered a step forward for the Vojvodina

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Hungarians, because the situation has deteriorated since then.

[Csaky] What was Mr. Babic's reply?

[Tabajdi] Mr. Babic replied that he, as deputy prime minister in charge of the economy, will convey this to the Serbian and Yugoslav Government. I indicated that I did not consider these, or the Vojvodina Hungarians' autonomy endeavors, to be maximalist demands that could not be fulfilled with the necessary political will.

I very much hope that the Yugoslav Government players will consider seriously the development, normalization of Hungarian-Yugoslav relations, and that it will attest in concrete terms to the demands raised both by the Vojvodina Hungarian organizations, and by the Hungarians at various diplomatic contacts, on numerous occasions over the past year—as concrete Vojvodina Hungarian demands. [passage omitted]

[Agoston] We in the DZVM consider the political integration of the Hungarians in the Carpathian basin, without an alteration of the borders, to be the only possible solution. There are as many factors in this as there are people—at least three: The ethnic groups in the neighboring countries and the Hungarians from Hungary, their political representatives [as heard].

I believe that this demand is more than what those who say they are fed up with autonomy will want; it is less than what those who do not think things through, and do not consider the consequences of trying to change the border, will want. But it is realistic.

[Csaky] Arpad Pasza?

[Pasza] The Serb aggression against Croatia dispersed the Hungarians in Croatia. We have no reason to disbelieve the Croatian leaders. We hope that we will be able to return. We trust there will be peaceful reintegration. If it does not happen, something similar to what happened in the Knin area will occur. Naturally, we are afraid of this, we fear for those at home. But we hope that our situation will be clarified in some way, and it is concerning this that we await effective help from the Hungarian Government in the coming weeks.

[Csaky] Ferenc Csubela.

[Csubela] I am confident the activity of the two Vojvodina Hungarian organizations and the mother country will draw the attention of the world, the attention of Europe to the fact that a Yugoslav settlement includes not only a Kosovo issue and a Sandzak issue, but the issue of the Vojvodina Hungarians must be clarified. If this is achieved, and if those who work on the settlement do their utmost for peace, I trust that the Vojvodina Hungarians will be judged fairly.

[Csaky] Finally, the representative of the mother country.

[Tabajdi] The Hungarian Government, the government parties, and the opposition, are paying attention to the Hungarians in Vojvodina and Croatia. They feel deep concern at the dramatic, indeed tragic, situation of the Hungarians in Croatia and Vojvodina. We will do our utmost so that the two national communities emerge from this situation and manage to survive.

On my part, I should like to ask both Hungarian organizations in Croatia and both Hungarian organizations in Vojvodina the same thing that I have asked so many times over the past year, that they should reconcile their differences, they should stop the quarreling. I—and I believe the Croatian and Vojvodina Hungarians—yearn for this reconciliation, because otherwise, unless the Hungarians of Vojvodina and Croatia are unified, it will not be possible to persevere in these difficult, testing, soul-destroying times. [passage omitted]

Smallholders Party Leads Popularity List

AU0809165395 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Sep 95 pp 1, 4

[Correspondent's report on results of opinion poll carried out by the Szonda Ipsos in August: "The FKGP Leads the Popularity List"]

[FBIS Translated Text] This is the first time since last year's parliamentary elections that the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] does not lead the parties' popularity list. Although the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP] was once close to the top this summer and even succeeded in making it to the top two months ago, they had to share first place with the MSZP at the time. This time, however, the FKGP is alone at the top. This is the most interesting development among the results of the latest opinion poll carried out by the Szonda Ipsos in August.

The size of the supporters of two parties changed in August: the FKGP supporters increased by 4 percent, and the supporters of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] dropped by 2 percent. The former can be regarded as a really important change because, in addition to a statistically marked increase in the camp of FKGP supporters, with its 16 percent, this party replaced the MSZP on the top of the list. FKGP supporters not only increased in number, but they also became more active politically. Thus, in this month, they also lead the group of people with a party preference who would certainly participate in the elections "held next Sunday." Two months ago, when there was a tie between the MSZP and the FKGP regarding the

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voters as a whole, in this narrow circle, the MSZP was still considerably ahead of the FKGP, by 9 percent. In addition to the increasing readiness of the FKGP supporters to vote, the fact that the supporters of the MSZP became somewhat more withdrawn contributed to the MSZP losing its advantage. The positions of the FKGP really strengthened in the past six months, and this happened in every social group. The FKGP succeeded in winning over a particularly big camp of supporters from among the middle class, where the MSZP suffered its biggest losses. At present, the FKGP is clearly more popular than the MSZP in villages and among skilled workers; people of lower education also prefer the FKGP slightly more than the MSZP. However, the MSZP is more popular than the FKGP among university graduates, high school graduates, and people living in towns, especially among inhabitants of Budapest. The differences according to age are more modest: older people slightly prefer the MSZP, while young people prefer the FKGP.

The FKGP divides the society: The camp of its supporters and opponents is equally big (16-16 percent). Opposition dominates in some strata, like among town inhabitants, among people between the ages of 50 and 65, and among high school and university graduates in particular. However, sympathy toward this party dominates in the villages, among people with a lower education, and among skilled workers. Thus, the FKGP can count on many voters and good election results among these strata. At the moment, most people think that this party would win elections held now (26 percent). The survey thinks that the MSZP would be the FKGP's opponent, although fewer people predict an MSZP victory (20 percent).

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Geneva Meeting Shows B-H To Continue To Exist

AU1109204095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Sep 95

[Report by Fuad Cibukcic on news conference by Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic in Sarajevo on 11 September—recorded, including statements by Silajdzic in Serbo-Croatian]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Cibukcic] Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic began today's news conference with the remark that it has been established in Geneva that Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] will continue its legal existence and that there are some imperfections [nedorecenost] about that.

[Silajdzic] Therefore, there is no doubt that Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue to exist as a state with its constitution, its parliament, its presidency, and government—all those institutions through which international subjectivity is being realized and territorial integrity protected.

There will be two entities with a high autonomy within Bosnia-Herzegovina. Bosnia-Herzegovina will not be a unitarian, albeit a decentralized, state, but it is clear from the first principle coordinated in Geneva that neither the Federation nor the entity with the Serb majority are internationally recognized states; therefore, they do not have the jurisdiction that belongs to internationally recognized states.

Therefore, international recognition does belong to the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina—the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is an internationally recognized state having democratically elected bodies that represent all three peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Not one of these elected people will be tried for war crimes, which means that they represent their peoples in a legal way. Only democratically and legally elected bodies are invited to join the peace process and possibly sign a peace solution.

The question remains as to what kind of central bodies these will be. We now have a parliament, presidency, and government at the republican level. These bodies will continue to perform their constitutional duties most likely until the constitution is modified and, on that basis, new elections and appointments are carried out.

[Cibukcic] The question arises of how the Serbian entity will be represented in the central authorities. This is the basic question, Dr. Silajdzic said, and added the following:

[Silajdzic] We believe that the Serb people is represented in the central bodies through representatives who exist now and perform duties in the central bodies. On the territory currently under the occupation of the Serb terrorists, half of the population that used to live there is no longer there.

Therefore, until the consequences of the genocide on these territories are at least partly remedied, it will not be possible to hold democratic elections. As the demographic structure of the population has been disturbed fully and thoroughly, those people who have expelled or killed half of the population cannot represent that population in the central authorities.

[Cibukcic] A transitory period is necessary to prepare and conduct elections for parliamentary and other bodies in the federation and the entity with a Serb majority, as well as for parliament and other bodies of the internationally recognized state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In order to organize elections, one has to meet certain requirements:

[Silajdzic] The first requirement is to remedy the consequences of the genocide to a certain extent and establish a democratic balance. The second requirement is to establish a minimum of democracy and human rights. This obviously means that we will have a transitory period. It may last five, 10, or 15 years, depending on internal political dynamics in Bosnia-Herzegovina and on the extent the international community will be interested in resuming democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina on all its territories.

[Cibukcic] Dr. Silajdzic also pointed out to the journalists that ethnic cleansing and genocide are going on at this moment as well. The non-Serb population of the Banja Luka region is still being expelled.

[Silajdzic] About 20,000 people have been expelled within one month. We expect an equal number to be expelled in the coming two to three weeks. This is non-Serb population, of course. There is not enough control. These people are kept under impossible conditions. Although they have small children, they are kept in the open, in stadiums. Then they are expelled across the Sava into Croatia. When they arrive in Croatia, they are received by our government representatives; Minister [Muharem] Cero and others, assistants at the embassy.

The problem is with the people waiting to be expelled. They are virtually in the killers' hands and we fear for their lives.

[Cibukcic] The journalists showed the most interest on our government's stand on the NATO air strikes. A CNN journalist asked Prime Minister Silajdzic to comment on last night's raid of Serb military targets in the region of Banja Luka.

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[Silajdzic] These are very fast missiles that were launched (?with a delay). I congratulate those people who made it as it is the best proof that the international community will not support a fascist regime in this region. I am particularly satisfied by the fact that the international factors are no longer falling for Serb terrorist leadership deceits but are doing what they should, and that will lead to peace.

Sacirbegovic on Link Between Accord, Air Strikes

LD1109215595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Geneva Agreement and the continued NATO air strikes are closely linked, Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic told Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and TV in a commentary on the importance of the agreed principles at the ministerial meeting.

[Begin Sacirbegovic recording] This document is a compromise for peace and it should also enable a further struggle so that this war is won either through peace or through a more advantageous military situation. There is still no victory, so there are no celebrations.

This document represents a complete, important, and long-term success for us. Why?

Like you, I find it difficult to swallow the words Republika Srpska. But these words are just words. This document is not a signed agreement, this is not a recognition of the so-called Republika Srpska. A comprehensive plan must be endorsed before this document has any significance.

The name Republika Srpska is just a concession to them, made so that they can swallow more easily their fundamental defeat. So now they stress these words in order to convince their army that they have not betrayed it, and that they are not doing us a service.

Remember, the so-called Republika Srspka should adjust its constitution so that it incorporates the notions of human rights and democracy, it should send its war criminals to The Hague war tribunal, allow refugees to return to their homes, and most importantly, admit that it is not independent, but an entity within an independent Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Through this document Belgrade and Pale have acknowledged not just our independence, but also our legal continuity, which means the constitution, institutions, name, and international recognition of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Do not doubt that these two things, that is, the Geneva Agreement and the continued NATO action are linked. One cannot exist without the other. The result of this NATO action will have a considerable influence so that a more favorable victorious option is found in the end. Over the past few days Mladic and his chetnik army have been defeated in the psychological and practical sense, while not a single soldier of ours had to die for this goal. Likewise, our citizens are safer and have more means to survive now.

On the other hand, a decisive turning point in the war has been reached. I cannot justify to you why the United States, France, and others have not done this earlier. But, on the other hand, they have done something now, because we have proven ourselves to be ready, while Mladic and Karadzic have not [sentence as heard]. So, when those who asked before why this war, and who ask now why this peace or why this document, so when they ask why this peace, because through this peace we can win the war, save our state, a multi-cultural community, principles and, most importantly, the lives of our young and others.

If peace does not come and if we can find ourselves in the most favorable position so far, then we can win the war on the battlefield. [end recording]

Sacibegovic: 'Time To Intensify the Bombing'

AU1209102695 Paris AFP in English 1013 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Sept 12 (AFP)—NATO Secretary General Willy Claes is ready to launch air attacks on Bosnian Serb troops to pressure them to lift the siege of Sarajevo, Bosnia's foreign minister said Tuesday [12 September].

Speaking on Bosnian radio, Mohamed Sacibegovic said that during a meeting with Claes the NATO chief "expressed (his) belief that phase two (of the NATO bombing campaign) should be entered, meaning attacks on (Bosnian Serb general) Mladic's forces."

Phase two is a reference to the second, more robust phase of the current NATO air campaign against the military infrastructure of the Bosnian Serb army. UN officials in Sarajevo said any such decision would be for senior UN and NATO commanders.

Atlantic alliance warplanes have been hitting targets for two weeks in an attempt to pressure the Bosnian Serbs into lifting the siege of Sarajevo by removing heavy weapons ringing the capital and opening roads and the airport.

In Brussels, Sacirbegovic later refused to confirm or deny that Claes had told him it was time to start attacking Bosnian Serb troops directly, but he made it

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clear that the Bosnian government believed it was time to intensify the bombing.

"I can only tell you that I will neither deny nor accept that comment," Sacirbegovic told journalists after meeting EU commissioner Hans Van den Broek.

"Frankly we discussed the need for NATO to be committed to this task and the Secretary General was very clear about his commitment and the commitment of NATO to this point and I think the Secretary General understood the negative consequences that would come about if there was no such commitment to be kept.

"For our part we have always understood that what's happening with respect to NATO and the UN on the ground is obviously related to the peace process. Not because bombing helps to bring about peace but keeping one's commitment helps bring about an environment which is suitable for peace.

"In this case if bombing is part of the commitment so be it.

"But this is Ratko Mladic's choice. NATO is not bombing for the sake of bombing. They are bombing to ensure that the legitimate demands of the UN and NATO are met."

UN 'Reluctant' To Strike Industrial Targets

AU1209091195 Paris AFP in English 0856 GMT 12 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Sept 12 (AFP)—Yasushi Akashi, the UN's special envoy to former Yugoslavia, said Tuesday [12 September] the United Nations was reluctant to see an escalation of NATO airstrikes to Bosnian Serb industrial targets.

Option 3 of Operation Deliberate Force allows the destruction of civil industrial sites in land held by Bosnian Serbs.

Questioned in Zagreb by reporters on the implementation of the next phase, Akashi said that the UN Security Council would make the decision whether to extend the bombings.

"I spoke on this subject with the UN secretary general and he firmly believes that option 3 is such a dramatic decision that he would rather not make that decision but let the Security Council decide," Akashi added. [passage omitted]

Akashi said no signs of withdrawal of the heavy weapons had been registered. He said a certain number of trucks had been moved out from the 20 kilometre (12 miles) exclusion zone around Sarajevo.

Muslims, Croats Using Air Strikes to Advantage

LD1209104795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1034 GMT 12 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Sept 12 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Muslim and Croat troops are making use of NATO air strikes for stepping up attacks on Republika Srpska [the Serb Republic], the Bosnian Serb army said Tuesday.

The Bosnian Serb army 1st Krajina Corps said in a statement that Bosnian Serb troops had repelled several Muslim attacks on the Srbobran section of the battlefront in central Bosnia on Monday.

The statement said Bosnian Serbs had pushed Muslim infantry troops back to their initial positions, but Muslim artillery continued shelling civilian targets in Srbobran and surrounding localities.

Muslim troops attacked Bosnian Serb defense lines also on Mt. Vlasic in central Bosnia, but Serbs had stopped all the attacks and inflicted massive casualties on the enemy, the statement said.

The statement said all Bosnian Serb positions on the Teslic section of the battlefront, northern Bosnia, were also firm and stable. It also said that the Muslims had made several abortive attempts to break through Serb defense lines.

The statement said that Bosnian Croats were also trying to take advantage of NATO's aggression against Republika Srpska and had resumed attacks on Serb defense lines in the west of the Bosnian Serb republic.

Muslim Forces Capture 100 sq km of Ozren Enclave

LD1109214795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Vozuca is free. Units of the 2d and 3d Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army linked up in this town early yesterday afternoon. Crucial battles for the town of strategic importance, not only for central Bosnia but for the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina, began at 0500 yesterday and lasted for 10 hours with great intensity.

The result of this well-planned assault by the two corps of our army represents a catastrophe for the Chetniks. Three of their brigades were routed, two from Srbac and one from Ozren. We are still unable to give you the definite number of liquidated aggressor soldiers because the Ozren front is very long, but it is certain that dozens of them left their bones in the vicinity

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of this notorious Chetnik stronghold. In addition, large quantities of military equipment were seized.

However, this fact is not so important. The most important fact is that a stretch of the modern road linking Zenica and Tuzla, which passes thorugh Vozuca, has been reopened. Tuzla is now nearer to Zenica by around 150 kms. The greatest part of the Bosnian Serb Ozren tactical group is in chaos, retreating deeper into Ozren and leaving wounded and dead behind them. The so-called Serb Stalingrad of Vozuca] as described by war criminal Radovan Karadzic on St Vitus day last year, fell yesterday. The most important part of Ozren has fallen. [passage omitted]

As I am filing this report, our soldiers are carrying out a mopping-up operation, searching for remaining groups of Chetniks trying to escape northward. Therefore, the battle is not over. Around 100 sq kms have so far been liberated in the Ozren enclave, and it is expected that the free territory will be even larger soon. [passage omitted]

Corps Link Up Following Liberation of Vozuca

AU1109140695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Our forces have entered Vozuca. This news has been carried by B-H PRESS and means that today is a very good day indeed.

According to this information, units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army liberated Vozuca yesterday. This came as a result of a strong counterattack by our units following the aggressor's provocations over the previous nine days. Units of the 2d and 3d Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina have thus linked up and the modern Zavidovici-Tuzla road—cut off in the area of Vozuca in the first days of the war—is again in use.

A mop-up operation of the routed Chetnik forces is now under way.

Croats Repel Serb Attacks in Western Bosnia

LD1109160495 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ivan Kristic reports about fresh successes scored by the Croat Defense Council [HVO]:

[Kristic] Just a few reports are coming from the Hrvatsko Grahovo and Glamoc-Kupres fronts, but what can be learned obviously shows that the day when Croats will return to the historical Croat town of Jajce is approaching.

Following increasingly strong Serb provocations from [word indistinct] the Croat forces launched a fierce counterattack on several sectors of the front and repelled the attacker, inflicting considerable losses in manpower.

We have learned from reliable source that the Serb stronghold of Demirovac, from where they were shelling Kupres, has been surrounded and is about to fall. [passage omitted]

Government on B-H Krajina Refugees' Accommodations

AU1109210295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At its extraordinary session today, the Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] Government discussed only one item on the agenda—the report on measures taken and activities carried out on accommodating expelees from the Bosnian Krajina. Here is a report by Stevo Latinovic:

[Begin recording] [Latinovic] The Serb terrorist authorities have undertaken a comprehensive action of ethnic cleansing of the non-Serb population in the region of Bosnian Krajina, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said and then asked Nudzaim Recica, assistant minister for refugees, to acquaint government members with the situation and what the ministry has been doing on accepting and accommodating the expellees.

[Recica] A total of 18,736 Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens have been expelled as of 7 September. Of that number, 13,867 are Croats, 5,136 are Muslim Bosniaks, and 20 are listed as other. The crossing of 1,000 more people has been planned for today; of that number there are approximately 500 Croats and 500 Bosniaks. Therefore, this number is already nearing 20,000, from 15 August up until today. [passage omitted]

A staff for receiving such a large number of expellees has been formed in the Una-Sana Canton. The schedule of reception broken down into municipalities is Kladusa 2,000, Bihac 1,500, Cazin 700, and Buzim 300.

[Latinovic] How can such a large number of people be accommodated?

[Recica] There is room in Velika Kladusa for, I can easily say, 6,000 people in private homes—that is, under the condition that they are not settled into the homes of the 13,000 expelees, or rather citizens who had fled from Kladusa and are in Vojnic at the moment. Therefore, there are no obstacles for the return of 13,000 Kladusa people who are in Vojnic. Let me say here that 4,000-5,000 people have already returned. I must add that, with the help of the Una-Sana Canton government, employment has already been ensured for all these expellees. [passage omitted]

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[Latinovic] According to Assistant Minister Recica, there are still about 20,000-25,000 non-Serbs more in the Banja Luka region, which is under the control of Karadzic's regime. [end recording]

Karadzic Threatens Withdrawal From Peace Process

LD1109192095 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Due to the increasingly brutal bombings and the announced new terrorist actions against the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, President Radovan Karadzic today sent a letter to U.S. and Russian Presidents Bill Clinton and Boris Yeltsin and British Prime Minister John Major. Here is the text of the letter:

Sirs,

The NATO decision to launch cruise missiles on Banja Luka is incomprehensible. This unprovoked and beyond all barbaric act is not just a dramatic escalation of the conflict, but comes at the time when the peace process has moved into a firm and resolute direction following the successful Geneva meeting on 8 September. I believe that if NATO attacks are to continue, the diplomatic breakthrough made in Geneva will quickly and easily disappear into the thin air and the entire peace process will be put into jeopardy.

We face an unprecedented situation when the international community is investing enormous efforts to secure a peaceful solution to the conflict on the one hand, and on the other, the same international community is—via the Western military alliance—bombing and destroying its own diplomatic achievements.

The Serb Republic delegation went to Geneva despite, and not because of the NATO bombing campaign.

In the light of the continuing attacks, in which mostly civilians are casualties, the Serb Republic might be forced once more to reconsider its further participation in peace negotiations.

It must be proven to us that NATO has not taken the law into its own hands, because it is quite clear that the most powerful military alliance on this planet has openly sided with our enemies, who, in their own style, have already started to exploit military opportunities created for them by the impudent campaign against the Serb Republic.

What is happening now has absolutely nothing to do with the imposition of peace. NATO has declared war on the Serbs. What is left now is to see whether the international community as a whole will be capable of halting these insane developments. The time is running out quickly, the letter, which our country's president Radovan Karadzic sent to world leaders, concludes.

Buha: Further Talks When NATO Strikes End

LD1009135595 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1210 GMT 10 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 10 Sep (SRNA)—Serb Republic [RS] Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha said today that after the Geneva talks the RS was finally recognized as the legitimate state of the Serb people in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In a statement for SRNA Buha confirmed that the stands were coordinated in Geneva whereby the Serbs in the RS had the right to decide on almost all the issues, including self-determination.

"I think we have made a good start and that of the three elements of the U.S. initiative—equal treatment, modified maps, and the end of the war—two have already been confirmed," the RS foreign minister specified.

According to him, on the basis of the documents and on the basis of what Richard Holbrooke and Carl Bildt said in public it was obvious that the international community finally decided to recognize the fact that the people and states in former Bosnia-Herzegovina should be granted equal rights.

"There are serious indications that the maps will also be modified according to the criterion of compactness and self-sufficiency, as well as the just division of resources and infrastructure of the two future state territories," said Buha.

He added that the third element—the end of the war and an agreement on the permanent cessation of hostilities—was sadly not yet confirmed and that the RS delegation in Geneva issued a serious warning that it could not participate in the next meeting if NATO bombing did not stop.

"One can say that once the bombing stops and an agreement on the definitive end of the war is reached favorable circumstances will be created for reaching a political solution in a short period of time, which would satisfy all three nations in former Bosnia-Herzegovina in a relatively just way," Minister Buha said in conclusion.

Serb Minister Calls on Yugoslav Diplomacy To Help

LD1109185895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1816 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 11 Sep (SRNA)—Dusan Kozic, prime minister of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, today sent a letter to governments of the Federal

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Republic of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Montenegro, appealing to them to take diplomatic steps to stop NATO's aggression against the Serb Republic.

The letter sent to Mirko Marjanovic, Radoje Kontic, and Milo Djukanovic says that the agreement on basic principles for the resolution of the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina signed on 8 September in Geneva, did not result in the suspension of the NATO aggression.

The letter goes on to say that the NATO air force has intensified its actions; in addition to air actions heavy weapons for the destruction of civilian targets and Tomahawk cruise missiles have also been used.

Kozic says that "dozens of innocent Serb civilians are being killed by destructive bombs and missiles, which also destroying factories, telecommunications facilities, bridges, and everything that represents a condition for dignified survival of the Serb nation."

"The Serb people and the Serb Republic are threatened with complete annihilation, despite the fact that the Serb Republic has clearly shown a desire to reach a compromise and find a final political solution," says Kozic in his letter to the federal and republican governments.

"Hence we are calling on you—before it is too late—to take all measures and diplomatic steps within the jurisdiction of your governments in order to bring an immediate halt to this completely unjustified NATO action against the Serbs, and in order to make a speedy move toward peace," Kozic says.

Serbian Spokesman on NATO's Latest Shelling

MS1109130695 London BBC Television Network in English 0600 GMT 11 Sep 95

[Interview with Marco Gasic, Serbian Information Center, London, by presenter Andrew Harvey, in the London studio; from the "Breakfast News" program—live]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [Harvey] Joining me now in the studio to give the Serb reaction to all of this is the spokesman from the Serb Information Center here in London, Marco Gasic, good morning Mr Gasic.

[Gasic] Good morning.

[Harvey] At the end of the day the picture which is being painted this morning by Nato people we've spoken to is that General Mladic has to cave in, he has no other option, he has to go back to General Janvier and say ok, do what you want me to do?

[Gasic] General Mladic is quite happy to do whatever General Janvier wants him to do, if General Janvier undertakes to guarantee the safety and the security of 150,000 thousand Serbian civilians, Bosnian Serbian civilians who live in and around Sarajevo, if General Janvier guarantees their security from Bosnian Muslim attack, then General Mladic will withdraw his artillery immediately, that's what makes this bombing even more ridiculous, all they have to do is get a cease-fire agreed by both sides in Sarajevo and the bombing doesn't—isn't required.

[Harvey] If, if that guarantee comes is the whole thing over? does General Mladic then have the power and indeed the will to say this is now it, we will in some form or other whether it is through the Serbian through President Milosevic or whether it is through their own officers that somehow we will sue for peace?

[Gasic] The Serbs have been pursuing peace for the past two years, they have been stopped by the refusal of the Bosnian Muslim side to actually agree to a peace, particularly in the area of Sarajevo, because all deaths in front of the cameras are good publicity for the Bosnian Muslim side. My fear is that this is actually a plan by a U.S.-driven Nato to give the Serbian parts of Sarajevo over to the Muslims by seeing their expulsion from Muslim attack after the Serbian artillery which is protecting them withdraws.

[Harvey] What happens then if the guarantees that the Serbs want to see are not given, in other words if General Janvier does not come up with the guarantees to stop the Bosnian government army from doing what you fear they will do, are you saying that General Mladic has the fire power, or indeed the will to hold out?

[Gasic] Well General Mladic, and indeed we should ask ourselves why would the UN and why would Nato refuse to underwrite the security of 150,000 thousand Bosnian Serbian civilians as well as the Bosnian Muslim civilians...

[Harvey, interrupting] They might feel they are under no threat?

[Gasic] They are under incredible threat, we know that because the Bosnian Muslims and indeed the Croats have already begun taking advantage of the Nato offensive, as we speak they have been shelling the town of [word indistinct] that's the Croat airforce with Nato air support, this is a cataclysm waiting to happen, instead of the peace process which we have had over the last few days, Nato is now bouncing us into the war process.

[Harvey] But I put it to you again, that actually General Mladic has no choice, at the end of the day he has to sue for peace, whether or not he gets these guarantees he wants?

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[Gasic] General Mladic has been suing for peace during all these negotiations, he is saying, let me withdraw my artillery by guaranteeing the security of my civilians.

[Harvey] Can he hold out there now, military can he hold out against this sort of attack?

[Gasic] He has no choice, his civilians will not let him withdraw his artillery and leave them to the tender mercies of their Bosnian Muslim enemies. I have to say if we want to go about getting peace this Nato murder campaign is not the way to get it.

[Harvey] Mr Gasic thanks very much indeed for joining us in the studio.

Mladic: NATO Rose Above UN With Air Strikes

LD1109114095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1042 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—At the meeting with [UN Commander] General Bertrand Janvier on 10 September, [Bosnian Serb Army Commander] Gen. Ratko Mladic demanded that the NATO bombing be suspended while the negotiations are going on, and cited President Chirac's guarantees and provisions of international law on warfare, which envisages cessation of fire during negotiations, the information service of the main HQ of the Bosnian Serb Republic Army announced today.

Gen. Mladic's condition for holding the meeting was the suspension of the bombing of the Serb Republic's territory while the negotiations are under way. French President Jacques Chirac accepted the condition and made his guarantees public via media, stressing that the NATO bombing would be suspended during negotiations.

However, NATO did not accept President Chirac's demands and launched massive air strikes against the Serb Republic at 1515, 1530, 1645, and 1650, which is why Gen. Janvier was late for the meeting, which began as late as 1730.

The meeting was postponed in order to allow Gen. Janvier to secure the suspension of NATO bombing. However, NATO bombers targeted and destroyed the Stolice TV and telecommunications system on Mount Majevica at 1915. Gen. Janvier told Gen. Mladic around 2000 that he had not managed to and could not halt NATO air force bombings, and that the decision to continue air strikes had been made without consultations with the peace force and Gen. Janvier. The meeting was postponed after that, and Gen. Janvier promised to go to the UN Protection Force command in Zagreb as a matter of urgency in order to secure the suspension of the bombing and create conditions for the resumption of talks.

Gen. Mladic requested from Gen. Janvier to inform the world public about the fact that NATO had risen above the United Nations, that it had altered the peace forces' mandate in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and had unilaterally sided with the Muslims and Croats by destroying civilian targets and economic and military potential of the Serb Republic, the statement said in conclusion.

'Large Number' of Banja Luka Air Raid Casualties

LD1109115095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0942 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 11 Sep (SRNA)—The information service of the Main Staff of the Army of the Serb Republic insists that the raid carried out by NATO planes on the Banja Luka area late last night resulted in a large number of civilian casualties.

The information service said in its statement today that NATO bombs hit electricity and water system facilities in the Banja Luka area.

In a NATO attack on the Serb villages of Radanja and Kalamande, in the Teslic municipality [central Bosnia], two civilians were killed and three wounded. It is feared that this is not the final figure. Most of the houses in the two villages have been completely destroyed, the statement says.

The Western alliance planes resumed their raids on the Nevesinje municipality [eastern Herzegovina] yesterday, destroying a large number of civilian buildings. No casualty figures are available and rescue teams are out searching the debris, the Main Staff said.

On several occasions NATO aircraft were in action against civilian facilities in the municipalities of Srbinje and Serb Gorazde. The hydroelectric power plant in Visegrad was once again the target of NATO planes. In all these towns the population is in shelters.

The Main Staff has accused NATO of bombarding the area of the Sekovici municipality on four occasions yesterday, with civilian facilities as the main target.

According to initial reports, a large number of wounded people are under rubble and a number of residential buildings and infrastructure facilities have been completely wiped out.

Artillery weapons, shells, and destructive bombs are being used by both NATO and the Rapid Reaction Force to destroy residential buildings in Serb Sarajevo, Hadzici, Vojkovici, Kasindol, Ilidza, Vogosca, and Trnovo. Combat activities against Ilijas have been stepped up.

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The Main Staff has accused Muslim and Croat troops of trying to take advantage of NATO aggression by launching a fresh offensive against Serb positions.

An all-out offensive by Muslim-Croat troops continued yesterday on the Srbobran, Kupres, Doboj, Mount Ozren, Teslic, Sarajevo, and Mount Majevica fronts.

The town of Doboj and its suburbs came under persistent artillery fire from Muslim positions yesterday. Initial reports speak of casualties and enormous damage.

Serb units responded vehemently to all enemy attacks and did not allow the Muslims, who suffered enormous casualties, to shift the front lines.

At the same time Teslic came under Muslim artillery and small arms fire from the direction of Tesanj. According to the information service, the front lines remained unchanged.

Muslim attacks have also continued on the Srbobran and Kupres fronts. Sipovo and the center of Srbobran came under sustained artillery attacks throughout the day.

Muslim units launched attacks on the Majevica and Kalesija sections of the front, where Serb fighters repulsed all attempts at infantry breakthroughs.

All Muslim and Rapid Reaction Force attacks directly supported by NATO planes on the Sarajevo front have been repulsed, the information service said.

Serbs Target Gorazde Area Between Sorties

AU1109090395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 11 Sep 95

[Report by the Information Service of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 81st Division from Gorazde]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday afternoon four bombs were dropped on the Ustikolina area and in the early evening the area around the [Pale Serb] aggressor's stronghold of (?Stocak) was bombed. One hour after midnight, explosions could be heard from deep within the occupied territory west of Gorazde. The details and effects of this latest round of air raids are not known.

The Chetniks have been intensifying their attacks on civilian targets between the NATO sorties, firing 37-mm shells and flak at Osanica and Ilovaca. Flak has also been directed at Vitkovici, Lastavice, and the Gorazde-Vitkovici road. The inevitable sniper and machine-gun fire has also been registered in Vitkovici. [end recording]

Serb Commander: Croat-Muslim Offensive Halted

LD1109121095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0918 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—An air raid alert was in effect in Banja Luka and the surrounding area throughout last night because of the NATO air raids against targets in the area, TANJUG's correspondent reported. [passage omitted]

In an attempt to take advantage of the NATO air strikes, Croats and Muslims launched a fierce offensive against the southern borders of the Serb Republic on 9 September.

In response to that, Lt.Col Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of general staff of the Serb Republic army, said that the all-out offensive against Sipovo and Mliniste were completely halted after a successful intervention by the reserve forces of the Serb Republic army.

According to him, Muslims and Croats pounded columns of refugees on the Sipovo-Jajce and Kljuc-Mrkonjic Grad-Jajce roads.

Over the past 24 hours Muslim units launched several fierce attacks on civilian targets in Srbobran and the surrounding villages. Many artillery shells fell on the town, causing huge damage. Artillery attacks continued this morning. [passage omitted]

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Daily Views Chances of U.S. Peace Plan

AU1109203095 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 10 Sep 95 p 2

[Commentary by Visnja Staresina: "Breaking the Geneva Package"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In Geneva on Friday, Richard Holbrooke, head of the U.S. negotiating team for former Yugoslavia, rather undiplomatically complained to correspondents for writing that the new peace process would lead to a division of Bosnia. He advised them to read carefully the document accepted by the three foreign ministers—Granic, Sacirbegovic, and Milutinovic—which, according to Holbrooke, is a step toward the formal recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the mutual recognition between all states in the former Yugoslavia. Therefore, let us read it carefully.

True, the agreement states that Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue to exist as an internationally recognized state within its present borders. It will comprise two units: the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and the "Serb Republic." Each will continue to exist according to their present constitutional solutions, which will, however, have to be adjusted to conform with the existence of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state. Therefore, not only has the "Serb Republic" been mentioned for the first time in a document accepted by all "sides," but the Pale assembly, that is, its decisions as the decisions of the "Serb Republic" administrative body have been given legitimacy. The internal territorial demarcation is negotiable, and only the principle that it be divided on a 51 to 49 ratio has been accepted. Moreover, internal constitutional arrangements, that is, links between the two autonomous units are still to be negotiated and agreed.

If one truly reads the text of the agreement carefully, and if one keeps in mind Milosevic's earlier acrobatics regarding the recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which would not really constitute recognition, it is difficult to join in the international mediators' optimism and see the agreement as a step toward mutual recognition of all states on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. On the contrary, recognizing Bosnia-Herzegovina's territory—which includes the "Serb Republic"—but not the [Bosnia-Herzegovina] government and leaving it up to the two constituent republics to negotiate all crucial issues regarding the existence and functioning of such a state primarily means initiating a long negotiating process. The negotiations, will, most likely, be accompanied by the continuation of the war in which the two sides will almost certainly be unable to agree on anything, and during which the drawing of the maps will follow the results on the ground, which, in turn, could be the introduction to the division of Bosnia.

An indication of the fact that Milosevic is still not ready for essential turnabouts as far as the recognition of new states is concerned is the fact that he is not talking about mutual recognition that would recognize all new states as the successors of the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia; a further indication is that he wishes to partially "solve" problems and unpack the global solution package proposed by the United States. He is trying to exclude Croatia, mutual recognition, and agreement in principle on the reintegration of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem from the package.

Croatia, on the other hand, is not ready to accept the breaking of the peace package and the global solution, that is, it has reserved the right to reintegrate its remaining occupied areas militarily if Belgrade decides to obstruct the global solution.

In this situation and with such results, Holbrooke and his team are returning to the region next week to try to save the "package"; it has been stressed that eastern Slavonia will have priority in the talks. The new ratio of power following Croatia's "Operation Storm" and the open announcement of Croatia's military action if an agreement on reintegration is not reached soon increase the chances of the "package," that is, the chances of a global agreement being accepted after all. However, disunity within the Contact Group could minimize that chance. Namely, Russia is again intensely active in the negotiations, and it will certainly try to help Milosevic by reverting back to the favorable "Bildt solution" as opposed to the unfavorable U.S. solution.

At the moment, Bildt carries very little political weight. If the Americans cannot persuade Milosevic to give in, it is highly unlikely that Bildt could do it. However, he could do something else if the U.S. initiative were to end up in a dead end: He could come out with some sort of compromise proposal, something between the U.S. and Russian demands, which would be unrealistic and thus would once agaian buy time for Milosevic.

Finally, if one reads the Geneva agreement accepted by the three ministers with great care, and if one adds to it everything that did not make it into the document due to a lack of agreement, it becomes clear that, after almost a full month of activities undertaken by the flying diplomats, the acceptance of seven basic points of the U.S. initiative in Belgrade has not moved significantly from square one and a long way still remains before a peace solution is achieved.

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Daily: 'Nothing Special' From Geneva Talks

AU0809145495 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 8 Sep 95 p 3

[Commentary by Visnja Staresina: "Three Ministers Around a Constitutional Tangle"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the initial announcements of the meeting of the three ministers (Granic, Sacirbegovic, and Milutinovic) being a possible turnabout in the search for peace on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, the optimism has slowly started subsiding and the goals are becoming more realistic.

Under these conditions, what can result from today's talks between Granic, Sacirbegovic, and Milutinovic at the U.S. Mission in Geneva, with representatives of the Contact Group and the Islamic Conference attending?

Croatia insists on the simultaneous and mutual recognition of the "FRY" [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] on one side and Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina on the other along with respect for the internationally recognized borders, and also insists on the reintegration of eastern Slavonia and Baranja being part of the peace package. Even following several hours of talks with Holbrooke, Milosevic did not agree to that. Thus, the package failed already at that point.

Milosevic allegedly agreed to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina, however on the condition that such a peace solution (as well as maps and constitutional provisions) is reached that would, in the near future, lead to Bosnia's breakup and thus secure him a piece of it. The Bosniaks still insist on the unity of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state. The Americans and the rest of the world community do not want to give the impression of forcing a division on the Bosnians, and Holbrooke stresses that Bosnia-Herzegovina will remain a single state comprised of two autonomous entities.

It can be noticed that any mention of the confederation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation with Croatia has been avoided lately, as it is on that basis that the Bosnian Serbs could call for an equal right to form a confederation with Serbia, something that is not acceptable to either the Bosniaks or the Croats. In that way, one avoids entanglement in an insoluble constitutional mess of a state consisting of two opposing units that wish to have as few links as possible between them and a double confederal link between such a state and two other states—Croatia and Serbia.

This world has never seen such a thing exist, let alone function, however, it is also not much easier to solve the constitutional setup of a two-part Bosnia-Herzegovina without entering confederal relations. First, it is hard to believe that the Bosnian Serbs will currently agree to remain within Bosnia-Herzegovina in any way. Second, it is even more difficult to imagine even the most decentralized government for such a state, which would have even the minimum characteristics of a joint government (joint foreign affairs for example) that would be headed by Izetbegovic and Koljevic (if not Karadzic). What would be done with the army in such a joint state, whose internal borders are still being drawn in a bloody war? Would such a two-part state have as many as two (or even three) armies, a joint army (which is impossible), or would it be demilitarized (which is unbelievable)? Regarding internal borders, there is not the slightest agreement there.

The expectations for this meeting are nothing special and may even be reduced to the following assertion: After a year and a half, the three sides are again meeting at the same table and may even continue to talk.

Granic Views Aims of Geneva Meeting on FRY

BR0809143495 Paris LE FIGARO in French 8 Sep 95 p 3

[Article by Xavier Gautier: "The Caution of the Croats—Mate Granic's Meeting With Jacques Chirac and Herve de Charette in Paris"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We cannot abandon an approach based on practicing the greatest caution," Mate Granic, Croatian foreign minister and a veteran of the peace negotiations in the former Yugoslavia, stated circumspectly in Paris yesterday with regard to the chances the meeting in Geneva being successful today.

"We would be satisfied if we managed to adopt a joint declaration laying down the framework of the future internal organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina," he said yesterday nonetheless, after emerging from talks with French President Jacques Chirac and his French counterpart, Herve de Charette.

According to Mr. Granic, the Croats, Bosnians, and Serbs (whose delegation will bring together representatives of Belgrade and of the breakaway Bosnian Serbs) must first agree on a calendar for "future commitments regarding negotiations."

For several weeks now, U.S. mediator Richard Holbrooke has been trying to ensure that fresh ideas prevail, by taking his inspiration directly from the peace plan drawn up by the Contact Group. "There is a consensus regarding the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which comprises two entities: the Croatian-Muslim federation and the Serbian entity," Mr.

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Granic reiterated. The plan awards 51 percent of the territory in question to the federation and 49 percent to the Serbs.

Also on the negotiating table are the future administrative structures of Bosnia and the nature of the relations between Pale and Serbia, on the one hand, and Sarajevo and Croatia, on the other. It is on this subject that there will be a head-on collision. The talks in Geneva risk proving "difficult," Mr. Holbrooke added.

Homage to the French Commitment

Thus, the Croatian and Bosnian presidents, Franjo Tudjman and Alija Izetbegovic, met two days ago in the presence of the head of the Croatian-Muslim federation, Kresimir Zubak, to harmonize their views before going to Geneva.

Regarding Croatia itself, Mate Granic will defend an agreement on "the peaceful reintegration of the regions last occupied" by the Serbs in Eastern Slavonia. Following the reconquest of Krajina by Zagreb's troops back in August, Croatia knows that it can play on its status as a power in the region.

Yesterday, Jacques Chirac called upon Zagreb to "confirm its commitment to peace, among other things by respecting the rights of Serb populations." Mr. Granic's reply was as follows: "The normalization of Serbian-Croatian relations will enable some of the Serb refugees to return to Croatia, which will implement the highest standards of international law on their behalf." The development of bilateral French-Croatian relations hangs on this. Mate Granic also took pains to pay considerable homage to what he called "the French commitment for peace on the ground."

UN's Gunness on Croatian Human Rights Abuses

AU0809152595 Paris AFP in English
1513 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 8 (AFP)—The United Nations Friday [8 September] accused Croatian authorities of "lying" and of continuing to harass civilians in the formerly secessionist Krajina region, more than a month after the Croatian Army recaptured it from Croatian Serbs.

"The HV (Croatian Army) has been threatening and harassing civilians who remain," UN spokesman Christopher Gunness said, adding that UN observers continued to find bodies in the area.

Referring to the Croatian authorities, he said: "They say a lot of things which we find very difficult to believe."

The Croatian authorities were claiming that "people who left are burning their own houses. Serb irregulars in the hills are coming down at night and burning houses... Frankly, we do not believe this. This is straightforward lying," Gunness said.

Gunness also accused the Croatian authorities of preventing Serb refugees, under the protection of Canadian peacekeepers, from leaving, thereby reneging on a promise to allow them to depart after questioning some of them.

Some 700 Serbs, including women, children and old people, have been sheltering since August in the UN camp in Knin, formerly the stronghold of the secessionist Krajina Serbs, south of Zagreb.

The Croatian Government is demanding the handover of 62 of the Serbs, which it claims are responsible for war crimes.

According to Gunness, the other refugees in the group, composed of men of fighting age, are refusing to leave for Serbia.

Gunness admitted the UN was particularly embarrassed by the Croatian Government's refusal to allow the refugees to leave, given the fact that the Canadian peacekeeping contingent is due to leave Knin.

The UN had obtained a pledge from the Croatian authorities, signed on August 6, that those under suspicion would be interviewed by the Croatian police, in the presence of UN observers, Gunness said.

He added that Croatian authorities had tied the lot of 26 other refugees, being sheltered by the UN at Topusko, also in the Krajina region, to the resolution of the Knin refugees' situation.

The issue will be broached during a meeting between the UN's special envoy to the former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, and Hrvoje Sarinic, a top aide to Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

Gunness's remarks come the day after a UN Security Council vote condemning actions undertaken by the Croatian Army in the wake of its August offensive to recapture the Krajina region from secessionist Serbs.

The Council adopted an impartial stance over human rights violations in the former Yugoslavia, spreading the blame equally among the Bosnian Serbs and the Croats.

Croatia Army 'Actions in Eastern Slavonia' Seen

LD1109132395 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1311 GMT 11 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vukovar, Sept. 11 (TANJUG)—The Croatian Army is continuing

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provocative actions in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and western Srem (U.N. protected area—sector east), the Serb Krajina army command for Slavonia and Baranja in the city of Vukovar said on Monday.

The Serb Krajina army said that at 8:00 p.m. on Sunday the Croats opened machinegun fire from the Tomin Hrast wood on Serb positions in the region of the Sodolovci village.

After midnight, Croat troops in the Jovanovici village used snipers and shoulder-launched missiles against Divos village near the town of Tenj, and early in the morning they opened infantry fire from the Jarmine village on Serb positions near Karadzicevo.

The Serb side did not respond to the provocations, but sent a protest to the U.N. representatives warning that their tolerance and patience have a limit, the Serb Krajina army said.

UN: Last Serb Refugees To Leave 'Within Days'

AU1109160995 Paris AFP in English 1549 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 11 (AFP)—Hundreds of Serb refugees blocked in Croatia's Krajina region more than a month after government forces recaptured the area from Serb separatists could leave Croatia within days, the United Nations said Monday [11 September].

UN spokesman Philip Arnold said UN officials were discussing arrangements for the transfer of the 700 Serb refugees out of Croatia, adding that an agreement reached Saturday on the move should take effect within the next two or three days.

The Serbs' departure from Croatia has been delayed by the authorities in Zagreb, who wanted 62 suspected war criminals among the refugees to be handed over.

But the United Nations has refused to deliver the Serbs, who sought refuge at the UN base in Knin after Croatian forces swept through Krajina in early August.

The United Nations also expressed concern Monday for the safety of thousands of rebel Moslems stranded in southern Croatia after being routed by Croat and Bosnian Government forces from the northwestern Bosnian region of Bihac.

Some 25,000 Moslem refugees formerly loyal to renegade leader Fikret Abdic, who backed Bosnian Serbs against the mostly Moslem Bosnian government forces, fled the Bihac pocket in early August. They have since been trapped in southern Croatia.

UN spokesman Chris Gunness said the situation had become particularly ugly Friday in the Vojnic camp where the refugees are housed 80 kilometres (50 miles) south of Zagreb.

A detonation was heard and two refugees were arrested at the camp after verbal clashes between refugees and Croatian soldiers, Gunness said.

Croatia, already home to 400,000 refugees, does not want the renegade Moslems on its soil, but the refugees fear a return to Velika Kladusa, north of Bihac, could incur retaliation from the Bosnian forces they besieged for more than two years.

Ethnic Hungarians Protest Language Law for Education

LD1009205395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 10 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Democratic Community of Hungarians in Croatia has protested because only children whose parents declared themselves to be of Hungarian ethnicity can be registered for education in the Hungarian mother tongue. The organization points out that with this decree, the Croatian Education Ministry violates the Hungarian-Croatian Minority Protection Agreement concluded in Osijek [Eszek]. At present 10 percent of the ethnic Hungarian children can be taught in their mother tongue in Croatia.

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Government Hopes Greek Meeting Ends Embargo

AU1109165195 Paris AFP in English 1624 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Sept 11 (AFP)—Greek and Macedonian negotiators aim to seal a key accord this week to end a crippling economic embargo imposed by Athens on its northern neighbour, government sources said here Monday [11 September].

Greek Foreign Minister Carolos Papoulias is to meet his Macedonian counterpart Stevo Crvenkovski for talks in New York starting Tuesday under the auspices of the United Nations.

Government sources in Skopje said they hoped their meeting would seal Macedonia's three-year fight for recognition and help revitalise its moribund economy.

UN mediator Cyrus Vance said it could lead to the lifting of a unilateral economic embargo dating back to February 1994 which Skopje says has cost it some 50 million dollars a month.

The embargo was imposed because The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) refused to change its name or give up symbols such as a golden sun on its flag which Greece considers to be Greek.

Athens charges that the use of the name Macedonia and the sun symbol indicates that Skopje has designs on the province in northern Greece called Macedonia.

In return, according to the Skopje press, Macedonia would agree to begin a parliamentary procedure within 30 days to change its flag and erase an clause in its constitution that stipulates Macedonia would defend the interests of Macedonians abroad.

Greece has always protested the clause, saying it is "expansionist" and aimed at its own province of Macedonia.

Crvenkovski said there would be "no winner, no loser" in the talks which would lead to a mutual "unambiguous recognition" of each country's territorial integrity.

Skopje hopes Greece will also lift a veto on FYROM joining the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, a NATO partnership programme for former Warsaw Pact countries and international financial institutions.

However, the talks this week will not tackle the problem of Macedonia's name which neither side is willing to give way on at present. That has been pushed aside for future negotiations, diplomatic sources in Skopje said.

Meanwhile, an opinion poll in the Greek daily ETHNOS published Monday said more than 60 percent of Greeks were against any accord, with only 18.5 percent believing the dispute over the name of Macedonia did not matter and would soon be forgotten.

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Walesa Delivers First Electoral Address on TV

LD1209100795 Warsaw PAP in Polish 2016 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 11 Sep (PAP)—President Lech Walesa made a speech on television this evening. He said that his office is a "sea passage through a storm, but also getting to know needs and capabilities. Today I know precisely the condition of our country and which hopes have not yet been fulfilled," he said.

According to the president, the hope that "the state is for citizens and not citizens for the state" has failed to materialize yet. Walesa warned that "today, when the old order is coming back, we are in danger of sinking in the swamp of old thinking and old systems. The state is preventing its citizens from becoming masters of their own fate. The state wants to decide for us, to organize our lives, and to spend our money."

Walesa stressed that the state "refuses to empower its citizens," and extensive and real privatization remains an unfulfilled hope. He pointed out that pensions still depend on bureaucrats, and even the weakest "for each zloty they earn have to pay 40 groszy to national insurance and income tax." We have to insure, he appealed, that the fate of Poland is not hampered by bureaucrats.

"The hopes for a fair, effective, and reformed system of democratic authority have not yet been fulfilled. Also unfulfilled are the desires for Poland to be a safe country," Walesa said. "When electing a president, you will decide what kind of country you want to live in," he stressed.

Walesa spoke in favor of a "clear separation and balancing of the executive, legislative, and judiciary powers so that they do not interfere with each other and can react rapidly to needs and threats" and also in favor of increasing the powers of self-government.

He expressed the view that people's Poland is being reintroduced into public office in the shape of "networks and cliques" and that the governing coalition is trying to increase the powers of parliament at the expense of the president and the tribunals. "Various parties are nominating their candidates for president, thus involving this office in their own party games," said Walesa and assessed this as an action "aimed at the democracy because a good political system must be a balanced one."

According to the president, the hope that Poland will be a safe country has not been completely fulfilled, both in the streets and at the borders. A safe Poland is a Poland of strong laws and a Poland well grounded in Europe, he stressed.

"Public life must not be separated from morality," Walesa said, and he expressed hope that "the 10 commandments—that is, truth, solidarity, and justice—are as important to the nation as economic development."

SLD Confirms Kwasniewski as Sole Candidate

LD1109131795 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1200 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives of the 28 groups that make up the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] have recognized Aleksander Kwasniewski as their only candidate in the coming presidential election. They have also appealed for universal support for him.

Kwasniewski stressed that the SLD has proved yet again that it was the only group capable of building accord and agreement around a joint program.

[Begin Kwasniewski recording] Today, when the right in particular is making various, sometimes in fact very caricatured attempts, to find agreement, I would like the Polish electors to see that in Poland there are politicians, there are political groups that know how to reach agreement with one another, and today's meeting is more proof of this. This is very important because it is simply a skill. It is simply the sort of social sensitivity that we represent, which urges us to look for common elements, which urges us to look for cooperation and not quarrels. [end recording]

Oleksy Speaks Favorably of Brno CEFTA Meeting

LD1109211395 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1938 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 11 Sep –Returning from the Monday meeting of the CEFTA [Central European Free Trade Association] prime ministers in Brno, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy expressed his satisfaction with the outcome of the meeting, whose decisions augur further liberalization of trade and increased cooperation among the member states.

The prime minister added that a 1 January 1997 deadline has been set for the abolition of customs duties on agricultural produce and industrial goods. This means that, apart from a few exceptions, trade exchanges will be take place in a customs-free manner. The CEFTA member states will also create mechanisms for the free flow of service capital. Poland will tackle the proposals for the liberalization of principles in the capital turnover, the Czech Republic—in services. [sentence as received]

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Polish proposals concerning the exchange of labor were not adopted because, as the prime minister put it, the remaining CEFTA states decided that they are not yet ready for it.

The prime ministers of Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia discussed the current situation in Europe. According to Oleksy, all participants shared the same opinion on the recent remarks by President Yeltsin on NATO enlargement: They found them to reflect internal tensions in Russia.

Chief of Staff on Status, Control of Army

WS1209101095 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 9 Sep 95 p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of staff of the Polish Armed Forces, by Janina Paradowska and Jerzy Baczynski: "The Armed Forces Have a Right To Defend Themselves"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [POLITYKA] General, it is said you had special contacts and relations with the recently dismissed [Belweder] Minister Mieczyslaw Wachowski. He is even considered to be the promoter of your political career. This was most recently brought up in the documentary "Cien" ["Shadow"] by former Defense Minister Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk. Why were these contacts so special?

[Wilecki] This is no secret. I was persuaded to move to Warsaw long before I actually did move. One of those who approached me was Vice Admiral Kolodziejczyk. At the time, I was one of the youngest military district commanders and lived a thoroughly good life in Wroclaw. Taking over a post in Warsaw was not very enticing. There was a lot of confusion surrounding the Armed Forces, there were decommunization projects, and the credibility of the Armed Forces was questioned. They were attacked from all sides. As an officer, I strongly reacted against that. I am well aware of the role the Armed Forces played in the period of transformations in the late 1980's.

[POLITYKA] What role was that? Do you mean they supported the transformations?

[Wilecki] You might consider what I say strange, but I claim the Armed Forces purposely handed over power, pulled back from the barracks, shielded the transformations and continue to support them. We all know who really ruled in the 1980's. That is why the military community, which I claim is very patriotic, was sorry and hurt by all of the hostility. I decided to accept the post of chief of the General Staff, knowing that a difficult time of transformation awaited the Armed Forces and aware of the problems I would have to solve. We signed the Paris and Vienna agreements, which provided for a reduction of approximately 40 percent of our defense potential. I undertook the task with guarantees of political protection and promises of assistance from my colleagues—senior generals and the professional cadres.

[POLITYKA] Who was to offer the political protection, and what was it to consist of? Was it the Belweder? Mieczyslaw Wachowski?

[Wilecki] The president, parliament, the government, the Defense Ministry. The task of reducing our Armed Forces by as much as one-half, a 60-percent cut in our training programs coupled with the establishment of a fourth military district, the foundation of the so-called Eastern wall [not further explained] are not attainable without political support. Something has to be done at the expense of something else. I thus found myself in a position where I had to make nearly exclusively unpopular decisions. For three years now, the General Staff has been implementing its tasks with precision. There were no protests or unrest within the Armed Forces, despite the fact that as many as 30,000 cadres and civilian employees were laid off. Many took it very hard, careers were broken, bright prospects for the future vanished. Currently, the reductions are very advanced. In November we shall submit a report to Vienna on the attained limits in the particular military formations. Honestly speaking, these transformations have gone unnoticed by society; the state authorities also seem not to have seen them. The operation was relatively smooth.

[POLITYKA] You mentioned the Vienna report. We wonder how you could have consented to implement the agreements if you considered them unfavorable for Poland, as you admitted in public.

[Wilecki] I do not think they were unfavorable, but neither do I consider them optimal. One has to envision the results of political decisions one makes. Until the Vienna agreements, Poland was the second-most-powerful country of the Warsaw Pact, strong in the military sense, a country that counted. As an aftermath of what happened in Vienna, we have found ourselves in a gray zone of sorts. Once the Warsaw Pact collapsed and we regained our independence together with the right to decide for ourselves, it turns out that our military strength as compared with Belarus is like 1:1.1, with Ukraine 1:2.5, with Slovakia 1:0.3, with the Czech Republic 1:0.6, with Germany 1:2.4, and with Russia 1:4.9. Thus, we currently have a huge asymmetry of potential in Central Europe. This does not mean we should feel vulnerable. We do have to remember, however, that the Armed Forces involve two major

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factors—quantity and quality. At present, we have to seek quality, and that is expensive.

[POLITYKA] We would like to return to financial issues in a moment, but Minister Wachowski and your relations with him vanished from the picture so suddenly. Admiral Kolodziejczyk maintains that talks with M. Wachowski always seemed shady, either staffing or other issues were discussed, but there was always an air of mystery.

[Wilecki] I think Minister Wachowski was overly demonized. I met him as the man who stood at the president's side when I became chief of the General Staff. He is a colleague, a friend of mine who never imposed his opinions on me on military issues. I would never have allowed that, anyway. One cannot, however, reject admirers of the Armed Forces, and Wachowski is an admirer of the Armed Forces. Thanks to him we could access the president on all problems the Armed Forces struggled with. And the problems were plenty: You may recall the unfavorable pension law that was vetoed, the law on veterans, or the lack of many important laws. Minister Wachowski was the one who helped us many times. It is not true that he meddled with the Armed Forces or even controlled them. I am equally amazed when I hear opinions that all decisions pertaining to the Armed Forces have to be approved by the chief military chaplain. Those are press facts.

[POLITYKA] Minister Wachowski is said to have been interested not so much in the Armed Forces as in the Military Information Services [WSI].

[Wilecki] Until last year I had no access to the WSI. The services were subordinated exclusively to the defense minister. From the moment they were subordinated to me, no one apart from superiors defined in the Constitution had access to them.

[POLITYKA] Justice Minister Jerzy Jaskiernia recently inquired at the Constitutional Tribunal whether the WSI should fall under the same legal regulations as the Office of State Protection [UOP]. One could say that where there is smoke there is fire.

[Wilecki] I feel that the inquiry was a strictly political move. I cannot say, however, what the minister's intentions were. I think it is in the interest of the state for the WSI to operate within the structures of the Armed Forces. The intelligence services must strictly meet defense requirements. Counterintelligence is to protect the Armed Forces and the arms industry. The UOP law and an instruction issued by head of the Council of Ministers, signed by Waldemar Pawlak, clearly define the powers of UOP and the WSI. I think the two documents sufficiently regulate this issue. I am thus amazed when I hear members of parliament say that a defense minister who has no access to counterintelligence does not know what goes on in the Armed Forces. Are we to go back to times of the Military Information? Are the Armed Forces to become the chief enemy of military counterintelligence? That is pure bolshevism. The Armed Forces are to be protected, not surveyed.

[POLITYKA] Nothing is that pure and simple, General. Secret services everywhere are capable of becoming independent and play their own games.

[Wilecki] That is why I believe there is a need for control, and a secret services commission is being formed at the Sejm. I am all for that.

[POLITYKA] Because we have come to the topic of counterintelligence protection, has the issue of the tapped conversation you had with the head of UOP on the sales of armored infantry vehicles been explained?

[Wilecki] That problem is being finally settled. I have no doubt that Mr. Kolodziejczyk disclosed a professional secret. I am also under the protection of the counterintelligence services. That is natural. The exercises during which I held the conversation the former minister disclosed were protected by the counterintelligence services, and the operating regimes of various radiocommunications means were tested. I did not speak over a cellular phone, as it was reported, but on a regular phone. The conversation was recorded in the course of routine procedures. It is not good when such issues are widely publicized for political reasons—one year after the incident, at that. This is not an affair.

[POLITYKA] Now that Minister Wachowski has gone, isn't your political protection weakening? Your relations with the government are not idyllic; you are fiercely criticized in the parliament by both the coalition and the opposition. The natural question thus arises of whether it was worth establishing such close ties to a single power center. Does Lech Walesa's failure in the elections not mean the end of your career?

[Wilecki] I do not agree with such a diagnosis. I always tried to have friendly relations with all constitutional authorities. It is not true that I have bad relations with the government. I understand if the prime minister felt somewhat offended after the speech I delivered on 14 August. I had to say what I did, however, because decisions vital to the Armed Forces are being put off. The development of next year's budget is in the final stage, and it is my moral obligation to remind about the situation the constitutional state authorities should deal with. I spoke not only of this government, but also of the governments of the past 10 years, during

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which the Armed Forces were increasingly neglected. We remember the terms used to describe the last few budget laws: survival, agony. Today we are facing the possibility that we might not even be able to keep the limits we agreed to in Vienna and Paris. We must finally answer the question of what type of Armed Forces we really want. I had hoped that the parliamentary debate held last February would bring answers to a series of political questions. It did answer some. The Sejm asked the government to present a report on the condition [zabezpieczenie] of the Armed Forces by 30 June. And what was done? Nothing. Do I not have the responsibility of talking about this? I have begun talking, and interest in military issues grew dramatically. The Defense Committee of the Council of Ministers currently meets on a weekly basis. The budget is drafted differently. It seems some of the legislative procedures will be accelerated.

[POLITYKA] Would you repeat your speech of 14 August today, without changing a single word, knowing the political consequences?

[Wilecki] I would say exactly the same things. I am not calling anything off. What is most important is that those who are constitutionally responsible for the Armed Forces deal seriously with their problems.

[POLITYKA] The problem is what is most important for whom. In an interview for POLITYKA, Prime Minister Oleksy said: "In a civilized world, even the most acute internal ailments of the Armed Forces cannot be vented politically. In our country, unfortunately, there is a widespread belief that this is a right held by the military." A minister could have said the same, but not a general. Was your statement not, by the way, a no-confidence vote for yet another defense minister?

[Wilecki] I have been speaking of the problems of the Armed Forces in various places—to the National Defense Committee, to the Socioeconomic Committee of the Council of Ministers, to parliament. To no effect. A number of very important laws have not been passed, among them the law on the universal defense obligation. Meanwhile, as an effect of the work of the so-called Zabinski Commission, it was decided in 1991 that new laws pertaining to the military would be passed, but the decision remains unfulfilled. The pension law that stabilizes the Armed Forces was passed one year ago, and attempts are already being made to amend it. The discipline law was passed, but its provisions already require amending because the adopted procedures do not work in the Armed Forces. Where else can I speak about these things in order to change anything? Where?

[POLITYKA] The fierce reaction to your speech is due also to the quite obvious fact that the Armed Forces are not a structure similar to the health-care system, education, or Ursus [tractor plant]. Apart from screws and nuts, it has a few other instruments for exerting pressure. Hence the word "coup," sometimes even left unspoken, crops up in commentaries on your statements.

[Wilecki] These are huge mystifications, the purpose of which I do not understand. The Armed Forces enjoy the huge trust of the society—it is ranked in top positions—and I really do not see any reason that we should be attacked or charged with intentions we do not have. Tact and reason should also be preserved in the commentaries.

[POLITYKA] You said that you waited with great hopes for the result of the debate on defense in the Sejm; now you are saying that we do not have a number of laws we should have. However, during the debate you were not even present in the Sejm, which was interpreted as a lack of interest on your part.

[Wilecki] I was not invited. It is customary that we are represented by MON [Ministry of National Defense]. I keep demanding the right to submit once a year an independent report on the condition of the Armed Forces to the National Defense Commission. If such a report is presented exclusively by politicians, I fear that parliament members will not receive sufficient information. The minister is a politician, most often from the parliamentary configuration; therefore, he may present problems differently—some problems may seem not so accute. In democratic states, there are regulations that allow the chief commander to appear before committees, report on the functioning of the Armed Forces, and speak about his expectations. As a rule, he presents such information before the budget debate. I still cannot help feeling that parliament members know very little about the problems of our Armed Forces. Now, we have really done a lot as far as issues within our powers are concerned. It is other issues, ones that are above us, that remain untouched. There is no political agreement, nor is there political will.

[POLITYKA] What does the apolitical character of the Armed Forces actually mean to you? Let us try to define this and see whether we are talking about the same thing.

[Wilecki] I would prefer to talk about their nonpartisan character. The military oath imposes certain duties to our fatherland on us, and the fatherland is a political subject. It imposes certain duties on the constitutional authorities, which are also political subjects. Therefore, I believe that we should speak about a nonpartisan character, which means an equal distance from all political parties. This means that parties should keep their opinions away from the Armed Forces. This is

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what all of us must learn— both politicians and military people.

[POLITYKA] This principle of being nonpartisan was violated by a warrant officer from Siemiatycze or Mielnik. As it turned out, he collected 15 signatures supporting the candidacy of Aleksander Kwasniewski. Were you not embarrassed a bit when you were announcing such a "revelation"?

[Wilecki] It was not I who announced it. The whole issue transpired at the last moment before the press conference, and the defense minister decided that it must be brought up. I believe that discussing this problem was justified. We used it to make the Armed Forces more impervious. We must see to it that the Armed Forces are more impervious to any political opinions that might be expressed in the barracks. Thus, the purpose of it all was to discourage those who would like to take any steps from outside; another goal was to maintain discipline in the Armed Forces.

[POLITYKA] However, you tinted the whole issue with a very clear ideology—you decided that it was an example of recreating old networks, an example of the old, party-based networks' penetrating the Armed Forces.

[Wilecki] It is, after all, quite obvious that not all of those who left the Armed Forces after 1989, particularly members of the political and party apparatus, have become reconciled to the new situation. We receive signals that some circles are once again hoping that, for example, the old educational potential will be restored; they are hoping that its rank will be raised, that deputy chiefs for educational affairs—under a different name, of course—will return. This issue must be seen from this point of view as well.

[POLITYKA] What about this different name? Do you mean spreading atheism instead of an obligatory Mass?

[Wilecki] A compromise must be sought between these two extremes. Neither an obligatory Mass nor spreading atheism. It must be in line with the Constitution.

[POLITYKA] Does your definition of the nonpolitical, nonpartisan character of the Armed Forces involve simply limiting politicians' influence on the Armed Forces? I mean the influence of the civilian minister, the government, and the parliament. This is what your statements seem to suggest.

[Wilecki] It absolutely does not. I am in favor of a symbiosis because problems of the Armed Forces will not be resolved either by politicians alone or by military people alone. It was in such a symbiosis that our defense doctrine, or the reform program worked out by Minister Zabinski's commission, was prepared. However, only those politicians who wield constitutional power should have access to the Armed Forces; the Army must not be an area where parties can play their games. Today the Armed Forces are accessible to a huge number of establishments and politicians: the National Defense Committee, the national defense minister with his entire strictly political apparatus, the civil rights spokesman, the National Security Office, departments of defense issues in ministries, two parliamentary commissions. This is a huge apparatus, which can make visits, exercise control, set rules of the game. I really do not make decisions regarding the direction in which we are to march and at what pace we should do it. This depends on a political directive.

[POLITYKA] You complain about the transformation problems in the Armed Forces and say: We need more money. This is what everyone is saying today. The fundamental task that people in high places in the administration must face today is to propose what can be done with the money that is available.

[Wilecki] With the budget we have been given, there are no other possibilities. We are implementing extreme money-saving projects, we are limiting the number of flights, exercises; training exercises are at a minimum. There are not too many exercises at the tactical or operational levels.

[POLITYKA] There are two possibilities: Either remain in this situation or make efforts of a different kind. Let us recall the debate on defense in the Sejm. Deputy Janusz Onyszkiewicz, former defense minister, said the following: In Poland, the cult of armor continues; we have more tanks than France and Great Britain. Other participants of the debate also stressed that armored troops, where you come from as well, are overly privileged compared to, for example, the air forces. Perhaps this scarce money is not being rationally spent?

[Wilecki] Please note how the Armed Forces were created by [King] Wladyslaw the Fourth or Marshal Pilsudski. Try to figure out why there was always a preference for ground forces. We live in such a place in Europe, between East and West, that it is necessary to favor the ground forces. They guarantee security. Air forces come second. However, the difference in the cost of the ground forces and the air forces is enormous. In fact, we earmark more money for the latter, but, because of costs, the effects are smaller. Moreover, there is one more aspect of this problem. Poland manufacturers certain types of equipment that the Armed Forces need, such as a modern tank and a multitask helicopter; our country is able to provide the Armed Forces with domestically manufactured equipment, which is

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extremely important to the condition of the industry. I have decided that more than 70 percent of the equipment of the Armed Forces should be domestically made.

[POLITYKA] You stand up for the needs of the Armed Forces, which does not necessarily mean that you also stand up for the needs of our defense. Quite naturally, all armies are structures that are not easily changed and that tend to follow well-trod paths. Will we really not have to face the great challenge of reviewing the defense doctrine?

[Wilecki] The defense doctrine was accepted when I was assuming this office, and I identify myself with it. Of course, today it is necessary to ask the following question: Does the future belong to Armed Forces based on draftees—a model created by the French Revolution—or will it be dominated by professional armies? Both types of armed forces have their advantages and disadvantages. We conducted detailed analyses while trying to decide which model should be adopted in our country; now we are proposing a compromise model, which, incidentally, prevails in Europe.

I am an advocate of Armed Forces based on draftees; this would involve shortening the universal military training to 12 months. We do not reject the idea of territorial defense training in three four-month installments. Thus, we will offer a whole lot of possibilities of doing military service. We believe that defense training should be universal because this is a deterring factor, just like the number of planes, tanks, or guns. If a country has well-trained reserves, it can always increase its defense potential. Also, we started implementing solutions that other countries are using as well. One of them is the four-year paid service of the primary-service soldiers [zolnierze sluzby zasadniczej]; this service comes after the obligatory stint in the Army. We want to have 20,000 such soldiers in four years. We are also hiring civilian specialists whose knowledge is needed in the Armed Forces; after a training period, we sign contracts with them, and they work, for example, at radar stations or in communications. They will be better paid than other civilian employees. If war breaks out, they are subject to mobilization. In this way, we are keeping our costs down and changing the structure of the professional military cadres. Today we have 60 percent of officer positions, and in the target model we will have approximately 30 percent [as published]. It is planned that this process will take between six and eight years.

[POLITYKA] Thus, you reject allegations that the Armed Forces are a structure that is carrying out the least reforms?

[Wilecki] Yes, I do. I believe that people know very little about them. I often speak about transformation problems; however, the Armed Forces have been constantly bleeding over the past eight years. Forgive me for putting it so bluntly, but I am telling you the truth. The previous system has left us a certain structure that needs fundamental restructuring. Let me give you a seemingly trifling example. We have 48 military orchestras; obviously, that is too many. Do you think it is simple to liquidate at least one of them? We are immediately accused of liquidating culture; protectors show up at once. Suddenly it turns out that orchestras are defended by voivodes, various organizations. Nonetheless, a reduction is indispensable.

[POLITYKA] The Armed Forces must always justify the need for their existence. Are you a militarist? Are you satisfied that in our part of Europe nothing is happening that would support your demands to increase the share of the Armed Forces in the state budget?

[Wilecki] That is a provocative question. I think about the interests of the state. The state's defense and credibility of the Armed Forces will not be constructed without any effort. For the time being, we keep going down, and this process must be stopped. We do not know what political configuration will finally appear in Europe. As a matter of fact, it is not stabilized yet. Security problems must, of course, be resolved within the foreign policy. However, if it proves impossible to resolve them, we must have the possibility of constructing such a defense system that would allow us to be a partner to be reckoned with in this part of Europe. It is the duty of the chief of staff to keep bringing this up. I do not agree with the "concept of the funnel," in which all the General Staff is supposed to do is relay to the Armed Forces decisions made by politicians, which tend to change and are not always optimal.

Central Bank Denies Zloty Exchange Rate To Soar

WS1209113895 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Sep 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "NBP: The Zloty Will Not Soar"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The deputy president of the National Bank of Poland [NBP] [Witold Kozinski] says hopes that the exchange rate of the zloty will grow by 10 percent are a pipe dream. He also excludes the possibility that the tempo of the depreciation of the zloty in relation to Western currencies will be reduced from 1.2 percent to 1.1 percent.*

At yesterday's news conference, Kozinski did everything possible to dissipate the fears of some and the hopes of others that the exchange rate of the zloty might suddenly soar.

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Those hopes and fears were raised by Deputy Prime Minister [and Finance Minister] Grzegorz Kolodko, who stated last week that increasing the rate is necessary to limit an excessive influx of foreign currencies (which causes inflation—exchanging foreign currencies for the zloty causes a higher supply of money on the market). The media published opinions by experts claiming the exchange rate might even change by as much as 10 percent. Kozinski suggested that Kolodko's statements were unreasonable.

As a reminder, decisions on changing the exchange rate of the zloty are made jointly by the government and the NBP; they cannot act single-handedly.

The NBP claims that increasing the exchange rate of the zloty by 4-5 percent would be a blow for exports (Polish goods abroad would be more expensive), which, in turn, would slow down economic growth. The effect on exports in the border regions and the gray zone would be slight, as their profitability is estimated at 15-20 percent. These exports, however, are one of the main sources of the growing currency reserves of the state (which reached nearly $11 billion recently), fueling inflation.

Kozinski claims there is another way out: Imports should be increased by limiting customs and taxes so as to decrease the currency reserves. This, however, requires government action. Taiwan dealt with this problem in a similar fashion in the 1980's, when currency reserves grew by $20-30 billion annually.

The rumors that the exchange rate of the zloty would grow attracted foreign investors, who are buying Polish Treasury bonds. They are counting on the fact that the growth of the exchange rate will allow them to reap higher returns on investment in bonds. Yesterday, at the weekly bid, they declared a willingness to purchase Treasury bonds for an unprecedented amount of more than 483 million zlotys (nearly 5 trillion old zlotys!). This is almost twice as much as one week ago.

Kozinski also said that the tempo of devaluation will not be reduced from 1.2 percent to 1.1 percent in fear that this might be seen by foreign investors as a further announcement of the appreciation of the zloty. The IMF agrees that this would not be a wise move.

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'Alarming' Amount of Fuel Smuggled at FRY Border

AU1109134495 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 4 Sep 95 p 1

[Article by Ion Medoia: "Caras-Severin County: There Are More Oil Products in Moldova Noua Than in Brazi"]

[FBIS Translated Text] General Ion Eugen Sandu, secretary of state in the Ministry of the Interior, in a recent news conference (25 August) held in Resita, attended also by top members of the parliament such as Radu Timpofte [vice president of the Romanian delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly], drew attention to the alarming proportions taken by the fuel smuggling on Danube. There are more oil products in the Moldova Noua area [on the Danube River at the border with Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY)] than in the Brazi region [Romania's richest oil fields], because 1,000-1,500 metric tonnes of such products arrive here every week. Nobody has questioned the correctness of these figures, because the general knew this area very well since he has worked here for many years. Meanwhile, the general died in the recent [1 September 1995] tragic air crash near Iasi.

The representatives of the mass media have not been exactly satisfied with the answers they received at the news conference, the more so since for the past two years they have been sounding the alarm about the "embargonauts" [embargonautii] in the area but the government has no intention of taking any serious measures. Moreover, in a different news conference, the president of the Caras Severin branch of the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania], Ion Spanu, who is also director general of the PECO [Romanian Gasoline Distribution Company] in the respective county, threw another "bombshell" with his statement saying that among those who are carrying large amounts of gasoline at the Moldova Noua are parliament members! Who is going to solve the mystery eventually? As we have seen, there are several starting points for investigation, even with the most authorized sources! These should move Prime Minister Vacaroiu a little as well, who is unfairly annoyed with our newspaper, quarreling with his bread and butter!

NAA Delegate Resigns for 'Personal Reasons'

AU1109170095 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 8 Sep 95 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Radu Timofte Resigns as Vice President of the Romanian Delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly"]

[FBIS Translated Text] PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] Senator Radu Timofte stated to the MEDIAFAX news agency that he is resigning as vice president of the Romanian permanent delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly (NAA). Radu Timofte mentioned "personal reasons" for his action, as well as the fact that he is very busy with the Senate's Defense Commission, of which he is the president. However, PDSR sources told MEDIAFAX that Radu Timofte has been "demoted" by some leaders of the ruling party, who are displeased with his stand on Romania's acceptance into NATO. Radu Timofte had stated that he was skeptical about Romania joining NATO because the organization's expansion depends very much on the approval of Russia and Ukraine. The vice presidency of the Romanian delegation to the NAA will probably be taken over by PDSR Senator Sergiu Nicolaescu, who, in fact, was proposed by Radu Timofte himself.

Nastase Interested in Further German Investments

AU1109193995 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 2 Sep 95 p 4

[Interview with Adrian Nastase, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies and executive president of the Social Democracy Party of Romania, by Marius Morariu; place and date not given: "Green Light for the German Investors of the Second Wave"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Morariu] What, in your opinion, is the main benefit of the recent visit to Romania by the Bundestag president [Rita Suessmuth] and of the Romanian-German interparliamentary dialogue?

[Nastase] In my opinion, the main gain is that important FRG politicians were able to see for themselves the overall political and economic situation in Romania on the spot, as well as the rights and situation of the minorities in Romania. It was good that they did not visit only Bucharest, but also Timisoara, where they got in touch with the German Democratic Forum and the leaders of this association. Likewise, they conducted talks with representatives of the entire Romanian political spectrum and also heard, as it is only natural, what cannot be read in the press. As a matter of fact, they could feel the pulse of events in Romania—the positive, less positive, and ostensible aspects of the situation here—and, with the help of the Germany Embassy, they understood the political priorities and the mechanisms through which we can overcome certain difficulties and thus proceed from an economically "interesting" phase, in which we now are, to becoming an economically "important" target for Germany. Despite the 5,000 joint Romanian-German companies in Romania, the overall German investments in Romania are still pretty low. Trade exchanges have made progress, but, as I said, the investments are very small. This leads to a psychological and political impasse. If a certain level of economic

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relations can only be achieved when a certain set of political relations prevails, then it is necessary to achieve a new political opening in order to make that leap toward a more important level of investments and economic exchanges. The parliamentary visits of late have tried to facilitate this opening and have given a "green light" for the German investors of the second wave and for more ambitious operations. Of course, I mainly dwelt on the economic aspects, but the political aspects are equally important. On the one hand, we are talking here about overall developments in Europe, where Germany plays a particular role, since what happens in Europe will depend to a large extent on Germany's word. On the other hand, we are talking here about the support that Germany can grant Romania in matters of great interest for our country, such as the integration into Europe and the euro-atlantic structures. These processes are vital for us, and they cannot be achieved without the FRG political class being deeply motivated along these lines. The delegation that visited Bucharest practically consisted of representatives of both the ruling party and the opposition, something that, in my opinion, should ensure the necessary continuity in the relations between Romania and Germany.

[Morariu] Has this Romanian-German dialogue also dealt with the problem of the repatriation of the Saxons and Swabians of Transylvania who left Romania and now want to come back after failing to find their "paradise" in Germany?

[Nastase] We have been discussing this problem for some time with the representatives of the German Government and Interior Ministry, who deal with this matter in Germany. The interesting thing is that, compared to the situation in the former communist countries, Romania is the country to which most of the ethnic Germans who left are returning. About 1,000 Germans are coming back every year, which, on the one hand, proves that they feel secure about returning to Romania, and, on the other hand, proves that they cherish feelings of respect and regard, which they want to foster at a private level, by living in the Romanian society. Although the number of Germans in Romania is pretty small (under 100,000), they play a very important role. They are highly respected in society. When I say that, I am not only talking about their representative in Parliament, who is also the chairman of the Commission for Human and Minority Rights, but also about the way in which they are regarded at a local level, where they are elected as local or city hall advisers.

[Morariu] Has the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] decided to start their election campaign from Timisoara?

[Nastase] Our visit to Timisoara has definitely no electoral meaning. We will probably return in September, but not to begin an election campaign from this city, but to continue our political activity, as we have done in other counties, as well. We believe that we should further strengthen the PDSR organization in Timis County and strive to become attractive to more people. Likewise, we should do more to overcome that certain personal disputes in the organization. We believe that this can be done, hence we plan to return to Timis County in September to sort out party matters.

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Federal

Yugoslav-Chinese Talks on Economic Cooperation

LD1109210795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1954 GMT 11 Sep 95

["Ecopool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 11 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce Mihajlo Milojevic and a Chinese Government delegation led by Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Shi Guang Sheng [name as received] on Monday discussed the promotion of economic cooperation.

The possibilities for cooperation between Yugoslavia and China are practically inexhaustible as the Chinese market is huge, said Milojevic.

Head of the Chinese delegation said China was continuing with the policy of economic reform and opening up toward the world.

The Chinese delegation has also met with Minister for Trade Djordje Siradovic. The two sides signed an interstate agreement on economic cooperation.

Milosevic, Stoltenberg Discuss Peace Talks

LD1109150595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 11 Sep (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairman of the international conference on former Yugoslavia.

In the course of their talks today President Milosevic and Thorvald Stoltenberg continued the exchange of views within the framework of consultations being held in order to give momentum to the negotiating process and to speed up the process of reaching an overall political solution.

The talks were also attended by Milan Milutinovic, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Ivkovic, DZVM Delegates Confer on Refugees

LD1109194895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1852 GMT 11 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 11 (TANJUG)—The chief of the Serbian refugees crisis staff said on Monday that the government would soon announce a program for settling refugees from Krajina.

Branislav Ivkovic, the minister for urbanism and construction, said the refugees would be distributed uniformly throughout the Republic of Serbia.

Ivkovic had talks with a delegation of deputies from the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Ethnic-Hungarians (DZVM) on settling refugees in parts of the northern Serbian Vojvodina province that are populated by an ethnic-Hungarian majority, said the Serbian Information Ministry.

Serbia has received nearly 165,000 refugees from Krajina after Croatia's aggression on the western and northern Republic of Serb Krajina in August, said Ivkovic.

He said the funds for caring for the refugees depended largely on Serbia's own resources, but added that aid from international humanitarian organizations was expected.

The DZVM said they appriciated all that the Serbian Government had done in accommodating the refugees without disturbing the local population, particularly members of national minorities.

It was agreed in the talks, attended also by minister without portfolio Andrej Milosavljevic, that cases of violent encroachments on ethnic-Hungarian property would be investigated into as early as possible.

Ivkovic said the republican organs had effectively prevented attempts at moving into empty houses and apartments without approval from the owners, adding this would not be tolerated.

Serb refugees in the towns of Sombor, Apatin and Kljajicevo said there had been no break-ins into houses in order to take-up residence, except when the owners had previously given their permission.

They said they were aware they could not solve their status by encroaching upon the rights of the citizens of Serbia.

Milosavljevic said that the citizens of Vojvodina, regardless of national affiliation, had shown much solidarity with the refugees, as they did in 1956, when 35,000 Hungarians settled in Vojvodina fleeing from the Soviet intervention in Hungary.

Interview With Governor of Yugoslav National Bank

95ES0384A Paris LE FIGARO (LE FIG-ECO supplement) in French 24 Aug 95 p II

[Interview with Dragoslav Avramovic, governor of the Yugoslav National Bank, by Marie-France Calle in Belgrade; date not given: "Dragoslav Avramovic: 'We Will Need International Aid'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *For the governor of the Yugoslav National Bank, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must rejoin the IMF in order to be eligible for credits from*

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the World Bank and the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development].

[Calle] Despite the program that you launched in January 1994, Yugoslav currency has lost ground and inflation is on the rise again. Why is this so? What new dangers await the country's economy?

[Avramovic] For the first nine months after the plan was put into effect, we had no inflation and the country enjoyed very substantial growth. However, this caused the economy to overheat. Industrial products, manufactured goods, and imported raw materials went up. With our exports blocked because of the embargo, the demand for currency has increased, and because of the blockade as well we cannot appeal for foreign capital. At the same time, people have grown accustomed to making a rush on the German mark, which acts as security, as soon as inflation threatens. Starting in October 1994, we tightened our fiscal and monetary policy. Nevertheless, they [as published] have nevertheless risen 5 percent a month since October, partly because of the weakened exchange rate.

Grain on Hand

[Calle] Despite the burden that the integration of more refugees from Krajina has placed on the budget, it is your opinion that issuing more currency is out of the question. Does the government intend to institute new taxes?

[Avramovic] No, because all taxes and duties are already extremely high. What we must do is speed up recovery so that the government will take in more fiscal revenue. We are currently studying a whole series of measures that should revive industrial activity. This would solve the employment problem and help finance a plan for the integration of refugees. Moreover, if the sanctions are lifted and we restore normal relations with the international financial community, then I hope that we will have a reconstruction fund to be earmarked for taking in the refugees, building new infrastructure, and so on. Whatever the case, increasing the budget deficit is out of the question.

[Calle] But is the Yugoslav economy ready to have the embargo lifted?

[Avramovic] We have grain stored and ready to go on the world market, which is currently suffering a shortage. We have over a million metric tons of wheat in reserve from last year's harvest and are counting on a surplus of a million tons this year.

In addition, our textile industry is performing well and will put us in a position to export rapidly from that sector. The same is true of machine tools. We are also counting on repatriating capital from Yugoslav immigrants following the liberation of capital trading.

The flip side of the coin is that we must "normalize" our foreign debts. We must resume paying service on the debt, but the terms of those payments are subject to discussion. To begin with, we have not solved the problem of Yugoslav assets frozen abroad. We can therefore hope for compensation.

Finally, we shall resume talks with international industrial and financial groups. We have already established contacts with some of them.

[Calle] Let us return to the problem of the debt because the granting of credits by international financial institutions (after the embargo is lifted) depends on it. How will the debt of the former Yugoslavia be divided up?

[Avramovic] There are two sorts of debts. The first category concerns debts contracted for precise projects, and they are clearly identifiable geographically speaking. The entire Yugoslav debt totals $16-17 billion, but practically two-thirds of that sum will be easy to allocate to debtors. It is the last third that poses the problem because it concerns credits that helped achieve a stable balance of payments. Discussions have been underway for two years and have made little progress, but at least the problem has been raised.

On the other hand, the problem of dividing up assets and property remains whole. Our position is that we hope to divide the amount financed by the federal budget among the republics.

Unfreezing Prices

[Calle] In order to obtain aid from international institutions, structural reforms must also be launched.

[Avramovic] I have a list of all the reforms to be undertaken, not because of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Bank, but simply in order to make our economy run smoothly. Inflation does not pose such a serious problem as it does in other countries in transition as they start out. We have a real problem with the exchange rate, but I hope we can solve it. We must speed up privatization and, above all, must relax or even abolish government control over the economy. Prices must be unfrozen and we must end import restrictions, but all of that will be solved automatically when the embargo is lifted. Whatever the case, it is in our interest to solve all of these problems in our own way, before international institutions make them a condition.

I would prefer not to have to apply for aid from the IMF in order to set up a fund to stabilize the dinar.

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However, we must conclude a new agreement with the IMF because of the money we owe it and must be readmitted as a member of the Fund. That readmission will affect our relations with the World Bank and could also become a precondition for our participation in the EBRD. I have just taken steps in that direction because our country has been hard hit by the war and the embargo. Our infrastructures are in very poor shape and we shall need aid from EBRD and the World Bank.

Serbia

RSK Seeks Russian Help for Displaced Serbs

LD0909084595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0717 GMT 9 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 8 (TANJUG)—On Friday [8 September] the president of the Assembly of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], Rajko Lezajic, asked the president of Russian parliament lower house, Ivan Ribkin, that the Russian Duma take appropriate measures with international institutions to protect the legitimate rights of the Serbian people expelled from Krajina.

In a letter to Ribkin, Lezajic asks that pressure be experted on Croatia to stop committing crimes on the remaining Serbs in Krajina and to demilitarize the region, which should be declared a U.N.-protected area, with full guarantees from the U.S. and Russia.

The president of the assembly of the Republic of Serb Krajina also asked that a collective return be organized of the expelled people to their ancestral homes, that measures be taken immediately to prevent further destruction of Serb property in Krajina, and that Croatia pays compensations for the damages caused by its latest aggression.

The Croatian army occupied in its August 4 aggression the southern and northern parts of the Serb Republic of Krajina, forcing 250,000 Krajina Serbs to flee, and then went on to plunder and destroy the property of expelled Serbs.

Geneva Accord 'Extremely Good Basis' To End War

AU0909192895 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 9 Sep 95

[Interview with Bosko Perosevic, president of the Vojvodina Executive Council, by Ikonija Vostinic; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Vostinic] Mr. Perosevic, how do you assess the results of the ministerial summit in Geneva?

[Perosevic] The Geneva agreement represents a victory and a result of the policy of peace and national interests of the entire Serbian nation that has been pursued by President Slobodan Milosevic and the Socialist Party of Serbia in the past period. This agreement provides an extremely good basis for the final solution of the conflict on the territory of the earlier Yugoslavia for it finally treats all warring sides equally.

The agreement is also very good for the Serb Republic and the Serbian people because it entails and provides guarantees for all interests of the Serbian people in the territorial division and in the constitution, where they will be represented.

The third very important element of this agreement is that it guarantees the Serb Republic a confederal link with the mother countries Serbia and Yugoslavia, which safeguards the interests of the Serbian people in the Serb Republic in a long run.

Finally, this agreement is also a guarantee and an argument for the international community to lift the sanctions against Yugoslavia, by which Yugoslavia and also Serbia would begin economic development based on the potential that absolutely exists in Serbia, where people have finally deserved to live a better life and not the life the world wanted them to lead.

Article Views Milosevic's 'Liquidation' of Opponents

AU1009203695 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 4 Sep 95 p 10

[Unattributed article: "Purge in the Socialist Party of Serbia?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A month or so ago, Zoran Cicak, at the time a high official of the Yugoslav United Left [JUL], pompously announced a new "Eighth Session" [session of Communist Party of Serbia, at which Milosevic was elected its leader] in Serbia, and once again repeated that Milorad Vucelic, Bora Jovic, Mihajlo Markovic, and the rest of their team would have to leave.

Cicak paid for this rather courageous announcement with his own head—he was thrown out of the JUL leadership; and then, as usually happens to great prophets, it unexpectedly turned out that he was right, at least partially.

Newspapers wrote that something was happening in the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS]; Mihajlo Markovic, in earlier times the main ideologist of this party, dared openly criticize Milosevic himself; the "well-informed" announced that Vucelic's removal was expected any

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moment; and a connoisseur said for VREME: "The liquidation is already taking place." Zoran Cicak smiled and rubbed his hands with satisfaction, wherever he was at the moment.

The mentioned "liquidation" could actually be only the continuation of a process which has been going on in Serbia for quite a while—from the moment when Milosevic decided that there must be peace in this region. The JUL was formed around the same time, and it consisted of the reliable cadre of Mirjana Markovic, Milosevic's wife, as well as of those members of the Socialist Party who had lately been pushed aside in their own party (Bogdanovic, Stambuk, Bakocevic....). The fact that Milosevic knew only too well that when you made a sudden turn a part of those following you simply had to continue going straight, and that he was well prepared for what is happening now, can be seen in the following: The biggest number of JUL members took part in the preparations for, participation in, and triumph of the first "Eighth Session." In other words, the striking fist was formed a long time ago, and all that had to be done was wait a little and see who among the followers would forget to make a sudden turn, that is, who had to be liquidated.

Mihajlo Markovic, the man who was in charge of giving form and name to the previous policy of Milosevic ("we do not know how to work—we know how to fight"), and Milorad Vucelic, who had to present all that to the public in the right way—were the first to fall into disfavor, which is only normal. They came under criticism of Mirjana Markovic personally, now in the role of the ideologist and propagator of the new, peaceful, policy of her husband.

Everything else was only a matter of time, and, as our politicians and policemen would say, "playing the game appropriately."

Zoran Cicak, who knew it all very well, said earlier, when asked about the relations between the JUL and the SPS: "In those parts of the SPS which are well informed on what Slobodan Milosevic thinks, we have good relations." Some of the Socialists intended for removal were in time cut off from information of that kind (what Milosevic thinks), so that Vucelic even made a mistake to criticize the JUL (at one of the SPS celebrations), and Mihajlo Markovic went even further—he quarreled with the president's wife in newspapers.

The advantage of the "rebels" in the SPS was in the fact that Milosevic, burdened with various problems, had for quite a while not had time for his own party, so that their positions in the party were rather strong. Strong enough to get them Cicak's head on a platter, and to make them believe that they could do something big.

There were more and more rumors about their open opposition to Milosevic's policy, especially since the fall of Knin and the announcement that eastern Slavonia would also be given up. According to some information, a part of the SPS leadership demanded their president to declare eastern Slavonia and Trebinje as "areas of national interest." Also, there were reports that precisely the "hard wing" of the SPS advocated an agreement with the Bosnian Serbs—precisely the sort of agreement which Milosevic later made, under pressure from the Americans.

The same people, led by Vucelic, opposed Milosevic's idea to reconstruct the Serbian Government. The president of Serbia wanted to provide for a "wider national consensus" on his peace plans through a government which would also comprise some members of Vuk Draskovic's Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO]. Socialist officials, who for quite a long time had to share their big cake of power (and money) with the ambitious JUL people, could not swallow this just like that.

That is how the pieces for the new "Eighth Session" fell into place, but then a serious problem appeared—who would be the winner: Slobodan Milosevic or Mirjana Markovic. Namely, the ambitions of the "striking fist" had grown overnight, and to such an extent that many of the Socialists loyal to Milosevic were afraid of being "swallowed."

It seems that Milosevic could not give up his party that easily, without having something else through which he would retain control over the huge apparatus of power. That is why he, to general surprise, appeared at one of the sessions of the Executive Committee of the SPS; that is why he responded to the criticisms of Mihajlo Markovic; that is why he organized a number of meetings with editors and directors of the media which he controls; that is why he has, for the time being, frozen the favorization of the JUL a little bit, and, as those around him claim, he thinks more and more of giving up his idea about Draskovic.

He has not given up the strengthening of his positions in his own party; he even threatened a little, and he will also remove a few. On Thursday [31 Aug], when this issue of VREME went to press, some sources claimed that the latter had happened precisely to Vucelic, whereas others claimed that the director of television had managed to come through, for the time being.

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Trade Continues With Russia Despite Sanctions

95ES0384B Paris LE FIGARO (LE FIG-ECO supplement) in French 24 Aug 95 p II

[Article by Moscow correspondent Isabelle Lasserre: "Russia: Despite the Embargo, Trade Continues"]

[Text] *The Russians are preparing for the post embargo period. The embargo did not affect trade that flourished during the CEMA era.*

Ever since President Slobodan Milosevic presumably broke off relations with the Bosnian Serbs a year ago, Russia has brought pressure to bear to have the economic sanctions which the international community imposed on Belgrade in 1992 lifted. Moscow is increasingly impatient and anxious to speed up the process. The Duma, or lower house of Parliament, recently passed a law to lift the sanctions unilaterally. Boris Yeltsin wielded the same threat and must either sign the law or veto it soon. Meanwhile, the INTERFAX Agency has announced that Moscow and Belgrade are discreetly preparing to sign economic cooperation agreements following the first meeting of a Russian/Yugoslav Commission. These accords mainly concern the exportation of Russian oil to Belgrade and construction of a gas pipeline in Yugoslavia. The agreements would be ready for implementation as soon as the embargo is permanently lifted or before, for "humanitarian reasons," the Agency states.

Matter of Prices

The imposition of sanctions on Yugoslavia has obstructed economic relations between the two brother countries, whose commercial trade amounted to over $5 billion annually in the 1980's. The USSR was Yugoslavia's main trading partner. Belgrade traditionally exported textile and food products, drugs, and cars to the former USSR, while importing raw materials, oil and machinery. The Joint Commission believes losses amount to $35 billion for Belgrade and $5 billion for Moscow. Experts say these figures are exaggerated and emphasize the "political" nature of the meeting. Yugoslav businessmen now want to regain the place they once occupied on the Soviet market. For commercial reasons, but also for reasons having to do with the "prestige of its foreign policy," according to one member of the Commission, Russia wants to recover its position on the Yugoslav market as quickly as possible. Anticipating decisions made by the international community, the partners signed economic cooperation and military agreements a year ago that will be applied once the embargo is lifted. "We must be operational overnight," a Serbian businessman from Moscow says. While the embargo devastated many Yugoslav businesses, others have benefitted from it. Since the institution of sanctions, over 200 private Serbian companies have been set up in Russia. "The companies moved to Russia to do business as a result of the sanctions," says one French businessman who prefers to remain anonymous. For him, the embargo was a windfall. "I sell to the Russians products that Yugoslavia has begun to make since the embargo. The Serbs are the best businessmen here. The sanctions have never prevented anyone from doing business; on the contrary. It simply costs more than before," he says.

Kosovo

Albanian 'Concern' About Serbs Housed in Museum

AU0809183995 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Serbian-installed director of the "Lidhja e Prizrenit" (The League of Prizren) Museum in Prizren has ordered today morning the museum staff to remove all the pieces of exhibition, paintings, and other documentation from the museum building complex. The reason, Ms. Sutakovic said, was that the building was to serve as housing for the Serbian refugees from Croatia, LDK [The Democratic League of Kosova] sources from Prizren reported today. The League of Prizren was a pan-Albanian political organization which embodied the independence bid of the Albanian people who had been living for four centuries under Ottoman rule. The League convened on 10 June 1878 in the old Albanian town of Prizren, currently in southern Kosova. Albanian leaders from all Albanian-inhabited territories gathered in Prizren that day and signed the document which put forward the aspirations and program of the Albanian nation as a whole. The memorial complex of the League of Prizren was inaugurated in 1978 on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the League, which has been regarded to be the most important national and political event of the 19th century. The memorial building with several rooms and an exhibition area is an edifice of traditional Albanian architecture.

Reports from Prizren speak of heightened tensions and the great concern and indignation the Serbian regime's move to violate the integrity of the Albanian monument has caused among the local residents. The attack on this monument of the history and memory of the Albanians constitutes a huge provocation, not only for Prizren and Kosova as a whole, but for the Albanian world in its entirety, for the League of Prizren has marked a crucial turning point in the modern history of the Albanian nation. The provocation becomes even graver

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and outrageous in view of the fact that the Serbian-installed authorities are bound to settle Serb settlers from Croatia in it. The part of the town of Prizren in which the League of Prizren museum is situated has been designated an area under UNESCO protection. The occupying Serbian regime has embarked on an outrageous campaign of planting Serb settlers in Kosova in every possible place in a clear bid to shatter the very fabric of Albanian life world here. Albanian schools, but also Kosova public sector buildings and economic facilities from which Albanians have been forcefully kicked out in the past years, have become the housing facilities for Serb settlers, as a prelude to their being granted permanent housing and residence within the framework of colonization schemes which have been legislated by the Serbian/"Yugoslav" authorities. This very fact proves that Serbia has not been treating the plight of Serbs fleeing the Krajina region of Croatia as a humanitarian and refugee issue, but rather a demographic weapon against Albanians and Kosova. The Kosova leadership has made it clear, the people of Kosova will treat Serb settlers, who are being poured here under Serbian state's sponsorship, as nothing but colonists.

Serbs Threaten To 'Destroy' Museum

AU1009162595 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] The Serbian regime has stepped up its campaign of desecrating Albanian cultural heritage in Kosova. The last in the long list of Albanian institutions to be targeted by the Serbian outrageous campaign of destruction is the Lidhja e Prizrenit [League of Prizren] museum in the town of Prizren, southern Kosova. [passage omitted]

The latest reports from Prizren say the local Serbian authorities have ordered the League of Prizren museum staff to remove all pieces of exhibition, paintings and other documents from the building by 1300 hrs today (Friday), or else they would be destroyed! This latest Serbian regime's move amounts to a grave provocation to the sentiments of Albanians in Kosova, which has been carried out on utterly absurd grounds: providing housing for Serb settlers!

Many Albanian cultural institutions in Kosova denounced today this outrageous move of the Serbian regime against the Albanian national history, culture and tradition. In a letter to the International P.E.N. Center in London and to UNESCO, the Albanian P.E.N. General Secretary, Dr. Sabri Hamiti said: "The last move in the series—the threat to the Lidhja e Prizrenit memorial complex—has greatly increased tensions amongst Albanians, who are very sensitive and attached to their millennia long tradition in Kosova," appealing on the international organizations "to intervene and act on behalf and in defence of the Albanian culture in Kosova, which has been gravely endangered by the Belgrade regime."

Ethnic Albanians Jailed for 'Separatist Activities'

AU0809205195 Paris AFP in English 2012 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, Yugoslavia, Sept 8 (AFP)—Ten ethnic Albanians from Serbia's Kosovo region were sentenced here Friday to between six months and two-and-a-half years in prison for "separatist activities," judicial officials said.

The 10 were found guilty of threatening the territorial integrity of the rump Yugoslavia—Serbia and Montenegro—and seeking to create an independent state in Kosovo with a view to its merger with Albania.

The accused had set up local defense committees and stockpiled weapons, according to the authorities.

Defense attorney Fazli Balaj said the court had been unable to prove the guilt of the 10, who had been intimidated to make their confessions.

Belgrade in 1989 abolished the predominantly ethnic-Albanian province's autonomous status, leading to a boycott of local government bodies by the ethnic Albanian population—comprising more than 90 percent of the total—and to the creation of a parallel political system run by the Kosovo Albanians.

Albanians Deny Charges at 'Engineered' Trials

AU1009181495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No 699 and 700 on 7 and 8 September carries several reports on Serbian "staged" trials against ethnic Albanians held at the Serbian-run District Courts in Pristina and Prizren.

A report on 7 September notes that "the Serbian engineered trial against 13 Kosova Albanians, local authorities and political leaders from Kacanik, accused for having allegedly been involved in establishing the so-called headquarters of territorial defense in Kacanik" resumed at the Serbian-run District Court of Pristina. Six defendants "offered their testimonies" during the two-day court proceedings, all of them "denying in whole the charges" and "calling the indictment a fabrication of the Serbian regime."

The Pristina-based BUJKU notes that the word "torture" was the "most frequent one" to be uttered by defendants throughout the proceedings. All defendants revealed "appalling episodes of ill-treatment and torture" they

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were subject to after their arrest and throughout the investigation proceedings. One of the defendants stated that the Serbian state security officers forced him to confess that "he was a commander in chief of the alleged territorial defence headquarters in Kacanik," adding that "he had no other choice but to sign a self-incriminating statement the police had concocted on his behalf." Another defendant says: "A Serbian state security officer once forced into my mouth a bunch of newspapers threatening to suffocate me," pointing out "exhaustive interrogations and torture" he had been subject to "for days." Another defendant told the court he "was beaten up for days in a row, covered in blood, and had lost conscience many a time." All defendants told the court "they had never been involved in the alleged headquarters of the territorial defense," denying their "involvement in hostile activities" and calling the indictment "an invention of the Serbian regime."

KOSOVA DAILY REPORT on 8 September carries another report on a trial against Albanians in Prizren. The report says: "The Serbian engineered trial against 44 former employees of the Kosova police force, former municipal authorities of Prizren and Suhareke [Suva Reka], and against the chairman of the Prizren-based Turkish Popular Party, Sezair Shaipi, resumed yesterday at the Serb-run District Court in Prizren. The defendants have been facing the Serbian regime indictment for having allegedly been involved in establishing a parallel police force in Kosova, i.e. so-called departments of the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Kosova." It is said that "the trial has been adjourned for over half a dozen of times so far in the wake of numerous fraudulence and deliberate procedure infringements carried out by Serb judges." The Pristina-based BUJKU reports today that the defendants presented their testimonies at court, "denying" the charges against them. Defense lawyers spoke about "numerous other fraudulent evidence the court has been exploiting in the trial."

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